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Journal of the Royal Society
of Antiquaries of Ireland

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

FORMERLY
THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND

FOUNDED, IN 1849, AS
THE KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XLV.
—
CONSECUTIVE
SERIES



VOL. V.
—
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1915

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THE COUNCIL wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.

P R E F A C E

THE present volume presents a good illustration of the variety of the Society's interest.

In Prehistoric Antiquities attention may be called to the continuation of Mr Westropp's voluminous surveys, for the sake of which, it may be safely prophesied, the volumes containing them will be eagerly sought for by the antiquaries a century and more hence. Among smaller articles may be mentioned Mr Knox's paper on Rath Brenainn, Mr Crawford's contribution on two Holed Stones, and Sir Bertram Windle's communication on a fine Stone Circle in Cork. But on the whole the "Prehistoric" department of the Society's work is less conspicuous in this volume than in some of its predecessors.

In the department of Mediaeval History we have several important communications, such as Mr Orpen's elaborate paper on the Earldom of Ulster and Mr M'Neill's study of the Secular Jurisdiction of the Dublin Archbishops. Dr Berry's monograph on the Deeds of St Werburgh's Parish give some valuable sidelights on local history. Mr Armstrong communicates two articles on Mediaeval Antiquities—A Processional Cross found with some other Ecclesiastical Remains in Co. Meath, and a group of Irish Seals. Mr Buckley's paper on Irish Leatherwork, we believe, breaks new ground, so far as this Society is concerned. The subject of Wall Paintings is for us unusual owing to the scantiness of those remains in Ireland: it is therefore noteworthy that we have two communications on the

subject in the present volume, from Mr Westropp and Mr Crawford respectively. Elizabethan Ireland is represented by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald's full series of illustrations and notes on the remarkable inscriptions on the Old Bridge of Athlone.

The subjects treated of in "Miscellanea" range from Apple-scoops to Holy Wells.

Family History receives attention in the shape of articles on the Bagenal, Massy, and O'Donovan families or members thereof. Mr Hamilton's communication on Fiacha Mac Aodha Uí Bhroin comes under this category. In this Mr. Hamilton sets an admirable example which, it is to be hoped, will be followed by others: we refer to his spelling of the native names of native Irish in the native spelling, and not after the barbarous phonetic attempts of mediaeval and modern foreigners (we use the last word for convenience, and in an entirely non-political sense). It does not look well to see an ancient Irish king referred to, in the pages of a Journal which wishes to be taken as scientific, as "Malachy O'Mulroony!"

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VOL. XLV

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31 MARCH, 1915

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Owing to pressure on the available space, it has been found necessary to hold over the Miscellanea and Reviews of Books.

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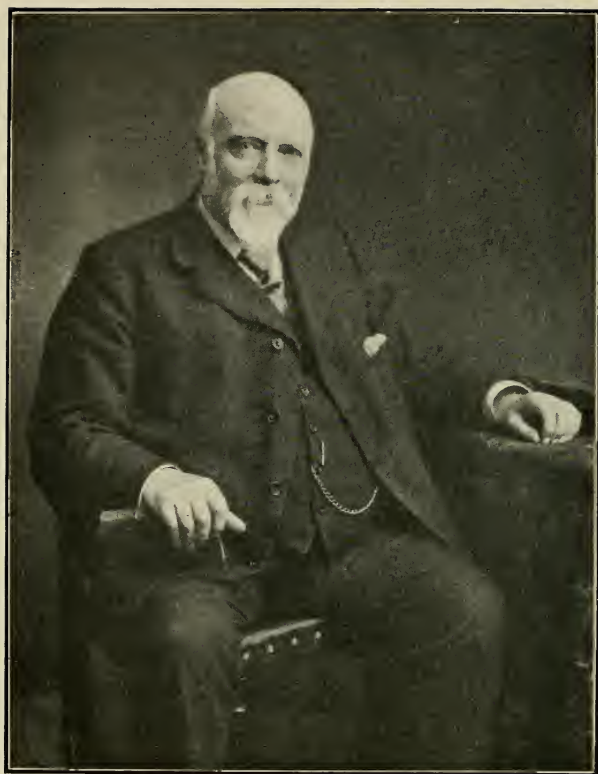
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JAMES MILLS
Died 5 September, 1914

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1915



VOL. XLV, PART I
(VOL. V, SIXTH SERIES—VOL. XLV, CONSEC. SERIES)

JAMES MILLS

THE loss which the Society has sustained in the death of Mr. James Mills can hardly be overestimated. For the past twenty-five years he took the deepest interest in its welfare, and whether engaged in writing papers for the *Journal*, in acting on the Council, or as editor, a post held by him for a long time, his services were invaluable. Gifted with great talents, possessed of a clear understanding, and endowed with great powers of industry, he helped largely in making the Public Record Office of Ireland the efficient and useful department it is generally acknowledged to be. Having obtained first place at an examination for junior clerkships in the then newly-formed department, he joined the staff early in 1868; and from the outset his qualities asserted themselves, his influence was quickly felt, and he gained the complete confidence of Sir Samuel Ferguson and of Dr. Digges La Touche, the deputy keepers under whom he served. The great work with which Mr. Mills' name will always be associated—*The Calendars of Fiants of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth*—a task that cost him years of laborious toil, was executed in scholarly fashion. Dr. Reeves, Bishop of Down, a very great authority on Irish topography, always spoke in the highest terms of this work and of the exhaustive *Index to the Fiants of Elizabeth*.

Early in 1889 Mr. Mills became a Member of this Society (being

promoted to the rank of Fellow in the year 1892), and soon after joining it he read a paper, entitled "Notices of the Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin, in the Fourteenth Century," which at once placed him in the foremost rank of historical enquirers in this country. This was followed by "Tenants and Agriculture near Dublin in the Fourteenth Century," and an "Account of the Earl of Norfolk's Estates in Ireland, 1279-1294." He also wrote on the Norman Settlements in Leinster: on the Journal and Accounts of Peter Lewys, 1564-5; a MS. in Trinity College Library, which affords ample details of wages, food, and other matters connected with workmen and works during the rebuilding of portions of Christ Church Cathedral: and on the Chapels and Crypts of the same edifice. Though Mr. Mills, owing to want of sufficient leisure, did not contribute very largely to the *Journal*, what he wrote showed extensive reading and threw needed light on many obscure points. He was much interested in ancient Irish agriculture, the condition of the tenantry and people of the country, and in agricultural values and prices. The history of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church) had peculiar attraction for him, and the preparation of the extra volume of the Society for 1890-1, *Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346*," edited by him from the original in the Christ Church collection now in the Public Record Office, was a labour of love. (Reviewed in the *Journal*, 1892, p. 189.) Vacant portions of the MS. had been used for copying a moral play or morality, which Mr. Mills named the "Pride of Life," and this is the only copy of the poem known to exist. He claimed for it that it was earlier than the "Castle of Perseverance," and hence that it was absolutely the "earliest composition of its kind yet discovered in the English language." In this view he was borne out by the late Dr. J. Kells Ingram, a high authority on Morality Plays, who took a deep interest in Mr. Mills' discovery. Professor Morley in *English Writers*, vol. vii, gave an interesting account of the poem.

Mr. Mills, in conjunction with Mr. McEnery, the present Deputy Keeper of the Records, edited for the Society the *Gormanston Register*, which contains transcripts of early charters and documents connected with the Preston family. This edition will shortly appear, and it is much to be regretted that Mr. Mills was not spared to see the publication of a work which he esteemed of much importance. The preface, the last piece of work on which he was engaged, will be found to be a masterly analysis of the document.

Soon after his appointment as Deputy Keeper, Mr. Mills planned a *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls* (temp. Edward I) as the precursor of a series of Irish Record Office publications, which was sanctioned

by the Master of the Rolls and the Treasury. He had always insisted on the importance to Irish history of these Rolls, and was much gratified when the Government yielded to his representations, and decided on beginning the series. Two volumes (1295-1307), edited by him, have appeared. A special feature of the work is the subject index, which is of great value, and no one in future, dealing with the history of the period, can afford to dispense with it. The *Calendar* throws light on ancient judicial forms, on ecclesiastical and social history, on agricultural prices, &c.

Mr. Mills was chiefly instrumental in originating the Parish Register Society of Dublin, founded in 1905, which has proved most useful to genealogists in this country and in America. He edited for it the *Registers of St. John's, Dublin* (1619-1699), and of *St. Peter's and St. Kevin's, Dublin* (1669-1761), the prefaces to which contain much important information. He also edited the *Register of the Liberties of Cashel*, 1654-7, and contributed a preface to the *Register of St. Nicholas Without, Dublin* (1694-1739).

On the death of Dr. Digges La Touche, in 1899, Mr. Mills, then Assistant Keeper, was promoted to the Deputy Keepership of the Records and the Keepership of the State Papers, with the cordial approval of all interested in the preservation and publication of the National Muniments. That his appointment was amply justified is evident from the work that he performed, and the efficiency of the Department, which was thoroughly well maintained, notwithstanding the vast stores of records constantly accumulating within the Record buildings, and the ever increasing number of the public who availed themselves of the privilege of searching among them. The Old Age Pensions Act threw an immense amount of labour on the staff, and Mr. Mills undertook the task imposed on him with characteristic energy, having to deal with a large temporary addition to the officers, and a vast amount of correspondence.

Mr. Mills had long been a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, on the Council of which he sat for a time. In 1902, King Edward the Seventh conferred on him the Imperial Service Order, then newly founded for distinguished members of the Civil Service, and he received the insignia of the Order at His Majesty's hands at Buckingham Palace. Mr. Mills was also nominated to represent Ireland on the Commission of Historical Manuscripts, a distinction which he greatly prized.

For some time before his retirement from office, which took place on the 31st May, 1914, Mr. Mills' health had been a cause of anxiety. Growing increasingly weaker, he passed away on the 5th of September, aged sixty-five years. He lies in Dean's Grange Cemetery, an appropriate resting place, as in his *Account Roll of*

the Holy Trinity he wrote much on the Grange of Clonken, a farm belonging to the monastery within whose bounds the cemetery lies.

On his retirement, the Staff of the Public Record Office presented their late Chief with an Address, which he highly valued. In it they expressed admiration of his rare qualities as a scholar and administrator, but the Address more especially dwelt on those qualities of the heart, which made him "the truest and kindest friend" of everyone under his control. While it might be left to historians to judge of his historical qualifications, which those who addressed him in an especial sense appreciated, they wished in bidding him farewell, to express their sense of his unfailing patience and courtesy, and of that delicate consideration which made him so greatly beloved. No more appreciative or truer tribute could have been paid to the man. It would be out of place here to speak of what Mr. Mills was in the home circle, and in the parish of Booterstown (to the work in which he was so devoted), and to the hosts of friends who looked to him for help and guidance. He was helpful in the best sense to everyone who appealed to him, never once turning away from any who sought his aid. Assuredly none "ever better deserved the sacred name of Friend."

Mr. Mills married in 1887, Emily Kate, daughter of Captain T. J. Smith, formerly of the 33rd Regiment.

H. F. B.

SIR NICHOLAS BAGENAL, KNIGHT-MARSHAL

By PHILIP H. BAGENAL B.A., *Associate Member*

[Read 27 JANUARY 1914]

I

THE family of Bagenal has been known in Staffordshire for centuries. The first mention of the name appears in written form in a grant of land in the reign of Henry I. (*circa* 1135) from Iro de Pantime to Ade de Aldethele. The witnesses were Matthew de Bagenhall and Alan de Bagenhall [*Erdeswick*, page 14]. As this was only about seventy years after the Norman Conquest, in all probability the founder of the family accompanied the Conqueror in his invasion of England, and received grants of land in Staffordshire.

The name of the family has varied considerably, but in all the earlier documents it was spelt with three syllables, and appears as Bagenholt, Bagenhald, Bagenold, Bagenhal, and Bagenal. Later it was colloquially shortened into Bagnald, or Bagnold, and Bagnall. The English family name has almost invariably been contracted into Bagnall, whilst the branch which settled in Ireland in the days of Elizabeth retained the older form of spelling.

The legal records of Staffordshire printed by the Salt Society abound in mention of the Bagenal family throughout the Plantagenet times.

William Bagenhall, of Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the reign of Edward IV (1460), had a son, Ralph, who married Elinor Sadler, of Nantwich in Cheshire, and their son was John Bagnall, who had evidently a prosperous career as a burgess of his native town. It would seem as though the family had descended from the landed class to that of burgess or merchant. At all events John became Mayor of Newcastle in 1519, 1522, 1526, 1531, and 1533. He married, like his father, a wife from Cheshire, Elinor, daughter of Thomas Whittingham of Middlewich. By her he had several children—the eldest, Ralph, then Nicholas, and two other sons—of whom all that is known is that they were “slaine at Bullogne” [*Carew MSS.*, page 635]. John had also two daughters—Mary, who married Roger Brereton, of Cheshire, and Margaret, who married George Bartram of Barlaston, Co. Stafford.

To this point the extant records of the family are brief and not

productive of many details. But after John Bagenal's appearance upon the scene as a prosperous citizen of Newcastle-under-Lyme, the records of the family become traceable without very much difficulty

Of John Bagenal's second son's early years little is known. In a letter addressed in later days to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Sir Nicholas gives us a clue to his early history. "My advancement," he says, "grew by your father (John, Duke of Northumberland, beheaded by Mary), and upon your brother and yourself hath been ever since my whole dependence. Your prosperities, next to her Majesty's hath been my chiefest earthly joy" [*Carew Papers*]. This is couched in the true Elizabethan style, but is also a sincere acknowledgment of the patronage which had advanced the young man in his career. The Dudleys were themselves Staffordshire born, which possibly accounts for their interest in him.

The first thing recorded of Nicholas is, that he had killed a man by misadventure in a brawl "with certain light persons," and was in consequence obliged to fly the country. What were the reasons that tempted him to cross the Irish Channel we know not. As a Staffordshire man with relations in Chester he was doubtless aware of the troubles in Ireland, and perhaps was tempted to fly thither from the hands of the English Sheriff. This happened about the year 1539, when Nicholas was thirty years of age. He took good care to choose that part of Ireland which was least amenable to English rule, and sought refuge in Ulster, the land of the O'Neills, the province with which he was destined to be so closely associated for the rest of his life. Whatever the full history of Nicholas Bagenal's bloody escapade, he made good his way to the court of O'Neill, where he found shelter and employment as a mercenary soldier. The fact that he had killed a man in a fray was perhaps the best recommendation he could have brought to Con Baccagh (*Bacach*) O'Neill, 1st Earl of Tyrone. With the O'Neill clan, at all events, Nicholas was domiciled for two or three years, and he so ingratiated himself with the Earl that the latter made successful intercession on his behalf with the Lord Deputy for a free pardon.

A letter was accordingly written by the Dublin Privy Council to London as follows:—"7th December, 1542. And whereas at the repaire of the Earl of Tyrone unto these parts he made humble and earnest suit unto us to be mean to your Majesty for the pardon of one Nicholas Bagenal, late your Highness servant who (by chance as the thing unto us did appear) was in company of certain light persons, when there was slain one of your Majesty's subjects. For the while the said Nicholas fled hither and has sithens done here

very honest and painful service, and therefore at the humble suite of the said Earl we most lowly beseech your Majesty to be so good and gracious Lord unto him as to grant your most gracious pardon." (See *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iii, p. 439-440.)

The pardon was granted in terms which in the present century would probably excite considerable suspicion of the young man "with a past." It runs as follows:—"Nicholas Bagnall, or Bagnolde, or Bagenholde, late of Wolston, Warwickshire, *alias* of Warwick, *alias* of Stafford, *alias* of Langforde, Derbyshire, Yeoman. General pardon of all murders and felonies by him committed. Westminster, 2nd March, 34 Henry VIII (1543)."

Who was this Earl of Tyrone who befriended Nicholas Bagenal, the Outlaw? His father was Conn *Mór* O'Neill, the most important Irish Chief in Ulster, whose territory stretched from Strabane to Dundalk. His mother was Alice, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland. He came therefore of the two most turbulent stocks in Ireland, the O'Neills and the Geraldines, and well did he maintain the fame of his forbears. For years Conn *Bacach* O'Neill fought with varying success against the King's forces; and when he was not fighting Englishmen he was busy waging private wars against other Irish Chiefs. At last in 1542, his country wasted with war, and incapable of supporting an army, O'Neill made his final submission to Henry VIII. He even went to London and received the Earldom of Tyrone, being the first Ulster Chief who had ever accepted an English title in exchange for the Royal name of O'Neill. This was considered in Ulster a degradation. Such was the chief with whom Nicholas Bagenal sheltered for some years, and by whose influence at a fortunate juncture he was ultimately enabled to wipe off the stain of outlawry. It is, however, by no means the last connexion with the O'Neills that Nicholas had in his subsequent career, as will be seen later on. The fate of the two families was curiously linked up in the next generation, when another Earl of Tyrone married a daughter of Nicholas, and was the conqueror of his son Henry on the battlefield of the Yellow Ford.

In 1544, a year after his pardon, the Privy Council in Dublin (consisting of Lord Justice Brabazon, George, Archbishop of Dublin, and others), sent Nicholas off to the French wars with the following letter of commendation:—"The Lord Justice and Council of Ireland commend the bearer, Nicholas Bagnolde, who has served in martial affairs here for four or five years, and now for his advancement makes suit to them to depart to serve his Majesty in France. He is a forward gentleman, and they beg favour for him, although they know of no private suit that he has, but only to serve in France."

Why did the Earl of Tyrone interest himself to get a pardon for this outlawed English refugee and "forward gentleman"? There must have been substantial consideration, for in Tudor days no one did service or conferred favours for nothing. The probability is that Nicholas fled to O'Neill's country in the first instance because it was out of the English jurisdiction. With O'Neill he doubtless acquired a good knowledge of the Irish language. To the authorities in Dublin Nicholas probably soon made overtures, and thus made friends with both parties in Ireland. Whatever happened, a year after his pardon Nicholas went off to the French wars in 1544 and stayed there three years. When he came back to Ireland he must have brought with him a high reputation as a soldier, for he was appointed Marshal of the Army at 4s. a day and 9d. each for 32 "light horsemen."

The Acts of the English Privy Council show that at the end of 1550 a letter was sent to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to admit Nicholas to the Council in Dublin, and from that time he was back and forth to London as occasion required. Thus in 1551 there came a letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland requiring him "to cause Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Sir James Allen, Oliver Sutton, and Patrick Doodall, or as many of them as may be spared out of that realme to be addressed hither for the better understanding of the matter informed against Sir Anthony St. Ligier by the Archbishop of Dublin."

On one of these occasions there is a curious note as to the methods of travelling. The *Privy Council Book* mentions:—"Two placardes to Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Knight Marshall of Ireland for VIII, and two cartes to West Chester." The route therefore to Ireland was in those days by the Dee. Chester had large storehouses for the keeping of merchandise to be embarked for Ireland. All letters, messengers and vessels passed first from Chester to Holyhead, from whence there was a regular despatch boat which set out for Dublin as regularly as weather permitted.

II

In the days of Henry VIII, Ireland was regarded as the proper field for "forward" spirits. For centuries it had attracted adventurers. Many lost their lives, but some had obtained fortune and fame in that country. The capital and the four counties adjoining it, called the Pale, were held by the English power, and the form of a Parliament was kept up; but outside a certain radius the rule over the Irish was mainly the rule of individuals, and a strong hand,

a ready tongue, a good sword, and few scruples were generally the equipment of a successful Englishman.

In Tudor times Ulster was the most disturbed and unconquered part of Ireland. It was almost a *terra incognita*. The native power in the times of the Plantagenets had waxed strong and rebellious in the North under the leadership of the O'Neills, while the Scots took a hand whenever opportunity suited against the common English foe. Here then was a great opening for the adventurer to do service to his King and to himself by making a settlement and fighting the Irish chiefs on their own ground. In this huge living drama, tragic and dark as it was, Nicholas Bagenal was fated to play a very important part as a soldier for nearly fifty years, under many Viceroys and through many vicissitudes. He lived through it all, and wonderful to relate, died in his bed at a green old age.

Accordingly, at the age of thirty-nine the Marshal found himself in one of the most important positions in Ireland. Some idea of the responsibilities and authority of the Marshal of the King's Army in Ireland may be gathered from the terms of such an appointment.

He could appoint provosts, seneschals, jailers, and officers for administering justice and for the good government of the army. He could hold court-martials, and act as judge in a court for any troubles or actions, civil, criminal or military, arising amongst soldiers. He was in fact the ultimate authority in Ireland in all military affairs, with power to inflict extreme punishment and even death.

The Marshal's salary was £73 a year. In the 16th century money was worth at least ten times as much as it is to-day. The allowances for the Marshal's bodyguard amounted to £410 a year, and it is very probable the Marshal made something out of this item also, especially in his continuous campaigns, when his soldiers (according to the custom of the times), lived on the pillage and plunder of the Irish enemy.

It is clear from the terms of this appointment of a Marshal that he must have been continually in close touch with the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland. War indeed was the chief business of the English Government during the 16th century in Ireland. Though Sir Nicholas had his headquarters at Newry, he no doubt attended the Viceroys in their continual campaigns against the Irish Clans, and in this way he must have become thoroughly acquainted with the country. It is only necessary to read the *Annals of the Four Masters* to appreciate the disturbed state of the native chiefs themselves, or the *State Papers* to understand the tremendous military difficulties of the various English Statesmen who were sent over to try and settle the country or conquer the

Irish. They naturally turned for information and advice to the men who understood the country, geographically and politically, and all the arts of Irish bush-fighting; and as time went on the Marshal of the Army must have centred in himself a vast amount of dearly-bought knowledge and experience. In his time Sir Nicholas served under nearly all the famous soldiers and statesmen of the Tudor times. His first experience was under Sir Anthony St. Leger, who was not only a soldier but a cultivated scholar and diplomatist. He it was who inaugurated the new policy of Henry VIII in Ireland, which abandoned the old efforts to govern through the heads of the great Irish families, and aimed rather at the gradual conquest of the island by a judicious mixture of force and conciliation. Then came Sir Henry Sidney, father of the famous Philip Sidney, and the Marshal, we may presume, accompanied him in that Viceroy's successful military progress through Ireland which is depicted so graphically in Derrick's *Image of Ireland*. Sidney was brother-in-law of Lord Leicester, and it was natural therefore that he should befriend Sir Nicholas and stand godfather to his eldest son, Henry.

With the Earl of Sussex, who was Deputy when he lost his post as Marshal, he was not likely to be so intimate, as Sussex was opposed to the Leicester faction. But he must have met this perfect courtier and scholar regularly at the Privy Council in Dublin, and also his successors in the Vice-royalty—Sir James Croft, Sir W. Fitzwilliam, Sir W. Drury, Sir W. Pelham, Lord Grey, and Sir John Perrott, all of whom played their part in the history of the times.

III

It was in 1548, the first year of Edward VI's reign, when Sir Edward Bellingham was Viceroy of Ireland, that we first hear of Nicholas' prowess in the Irish wars. The Pale had been for some time disturbed by the depredations of a gang of freebooters from Leix who had overrun the north of Carlow and the south of Kildare, plundering and burning on all sides. Bellingham, an able soldier and a Protestant, was sent over to Ireland with reinforcements to cope with Cahir O'Connor, who had advanced on Kildare. It is in this affair that Nicholas first distinguished himself. He fell in with the marauders and rescued the cattle taken, though his men were only in the proportion of one to sixteen. Cahir retreated but was pursued to a spot surrounded by bog, which after great difficulty the English crossed. Such was the slaughter of the Irish that Bellingham reported to the Privy Council "that the oldest man in Ireland never saw so many woodkerne slain in one day."

Bellingham was so celebrated for his warlike propensities that it

is recorded in the *Book of Howth* that "he wore ever his harness, and so did all those whom he liked of." It was his policy of constructing forts and strongholds on the border of the southern Pale, which largely effected the revival of English supremacy in that district. It was he who first established the fort at Leighlin Bridge, which continued ever after so important, commanding the road from Dublin to Kilkenny. The suppressed Carmelite Convent at Leighlin required little alteration and was adapted for military purposes. Here the Lord Deputy kept a band of horse, and under this protection the County of Carlow became by degrees a settled county. Probably it was during his campaigns in Leinster that Nicholas became aware of the pleasant situation and desirability of the Barony of Idrone, which he afterwards purchased from the Carews.

Towards the end of the reign of Edward VI Ulster was very restless and disturbed owing to the intrigues of the French King Henry II and his emissaries. It was about this time that Nicholas began to reap the reward of his labours in the field. He received in 1550 a lease of the Abbeylands of Newry, where he had settled, and the terms of the deed give some recognition of his services. [*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Ireland*, vol. i., p. 228-9.] It set forth how suitable a place Newry was for the service of the King, and how necessary to plant there a Captain with furniture of men for the reduction to better obedience of that rude and savage district. The Marshal had already resided some time in Newry amongst the Irish inhabitants, and had been at great costs and charges in that respect. The Privy Council therefore thought that in all likelihood the Marshal's continued residence there would conduce to the "civilitie" of the natives and their obedience to the King. Much of the abbey lands had become waste or lapsed into the hands of the Irish, and it was desirable to place them in better hands. Accordingly, Sir Nicholas was first given a lease for twenty-one years, and subsequently a grant of practically the town of Newry and the lands surrounding it, the fisheries, customs, and tolls of the market, all that in fact belonged to the late Abbot of Newry. Besides these valuable properties and other rights and lands, he was granted the Lordship of Mourne, which extended for ten miles in length and two in breadth. Some of this land is now in the hands of Lord Kilmorey, who is a lineal descendant of Sir Nicholas by his grand-daughter. The grant was held by the service of the fourth part of a knight's fee, and was dated 1552 (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls, Ireland*, Elizabeth, vol. ii, p. 154).

There is also in the Acts of the Privy Council the following, which shows the grant was not made without conditions:—"1552. 29 March 1552, at Westminster. A letter to the Chancellors, the

Augmentacions, to make out a booke in dewe form of the King Majesty's Government of certain landes in Ireland to Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Knight, in fee-simple in consideration as well that he hath the same already in lease from his Highness as for that also certain of the same hath and yet still doth remaine waste and without manuring, taking a recognisance of *iiii*^e li. (£400) of the said Mr. Bagnall in case any suche uncertaintie shall be found by the said Chancellour as whereby the value of the said lands shall not fully appere, that then he shall stand to such order for the same as at any time within ii years hereafter upon more full declaration thereof from his Majesties Counsell in Ireland shall be thought requisite."

Some further facts as to the foundation of his fortunes at Newry are given by his son Sir Henry Bagenal in a description of Ulster which he wrote in 1586. He says :—"The County of Down contains the Lordship of Newry and the Lordship of Mourne, the inheritance of Sir N. Bagenal, who at his coming thither found them altogether waste, and Shane O'Neill dwelling within a mile to the Newry at a place called Fedom, suffering no subject to travel from Dundalk northward. But since the fortifications and buildings made thereby by the said Sir N. Bagenal all the passages are made free and much of the countries next adjacent reduced to reasonable civility. Evagh is governed by Sir Hugh McEnys, the civilest of all the Irish in those parts. He was brought by Sir N. Bagenal from the bonaghe¹ of the O'Neills to contribute to the Queen. In this place only amongst the Irish of Ulster is the rude custom of tanistship put away. McEnys is able to make 60 horsemen and 80 footmen. Every festival day he wears English garments. The Captain of Kilnltoe is Cormack McNeil, who likewise was brought by Sir N. Bagenal from the bonaghe of the O'Neills."

It is evident from these extracts that Sir Nicholas was recognised by the Sovereign as a pioneer of English rule in Ireland, an outpost of the coming army of conquest. It is clear that he had considerable influence amongst the native chiefs as well as in the court and camp at Dublin.

IV

Throughout the reign of Edward VI Sir Nicholas was busily engaged in Ulster. Shane O'Neill was beginning that troublesome career which made him a thorn in the side of England for so many years. Sir James Croft, the Viceroy in 1551, knighted the Marshal and sent him on a raid into Tyrone, of which the latter sent an

¹ *Buannadha*—i.e., retained soldiers. Originally the tax imposed by a chief for the support of his mercenaries.

account to the Council in Dublin. It would seem that O'Neill made little resistance, retiring into the woods. He afterwards came in on parole to make a truce. It is noteworthy that at this time Sir Nicholas was acting in concert with Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, with whom he had been joined in commission for the purpose of re-establishing order in Tyrone. At this time there was a family quarrel amongst the O'Neills. The first Earl of Tyrone, known as Conn *Bacach* (the lame) had a legitimate son, Shane, already mentioned. But he had been cut out of the direct descent in favour of an elder illegitimate son, Matthew, who was made the tail-male successor to the earldom, and by patent created Baron Dungannon. This arrangement was made by Elizabeth entirely in the English interest, so as to create divisions amongst the Clan O'Neill; and it was largely the origin of the internecine conflict in the family which lasted till the end of the century. It was this Matthew's son, Hugh O'Neill, who subsequently became the celebrated Earl of Tyrone, and who was destined to marry Sir Nicholas' youngest daughter.

Sir Nicholas' letters to Sir James Croft, the Viceroy in the same year, give details of a successful expedition against the Antrim O'Neills, who had been assisted by some mercenaries. At this period the Baron of Dungannon was looked upon as on the side of the English. Croft in one of his letters to London recommends that pending the appointment of a new Archbishop of Armagh the *locum tenens* should live at Armagh, where "he would be most useful to Bagenal and the Baron of Dungannon."

Nicholas had to fight hard for the preservation of his new estate. All the native chiefs were against him, and he was in a continual state of private war with his neighbours at Newry, especially O'Neill of Clanaboy, as well as in general combat with the Tyrone O'Neills and the Scots on behalf of the Government. Not the least part of his work was in making Newry a stronghold for the English. From an early period it had from its position near the sea been a place of consequence; and landward it was a principal pass leading through the bogs and mountains between Dundalk and the North. The Marshal probably lived at first in the Abbot's house, which was situated in Castle Street; part of the building existed in the beginning of the 19th century. He subsequently built a castle called Greencastle, and it was here he brought his Welsh wife and raised a large family, most of whose descendants intermarried with leading Anglo-Irish families, and became entangled in the Irish Civil Wars of the 17th century.

Queen Mary came to the throne in 1553. The Marshal's elder brother, Sir Ralph Bagenal, took a very bold stand in the English Parliament against the Pope's supremacy, and suffered from it in

purse and person. The religious opinions of the Marshal do not appear to have been so advanced. Like most officials of the Tudor times he probably adopted the particular form of religion which the reigning King or Queen professed. As a matter of history there was not much trouble in Ireland in these earlier days on the score of religious principles. The Reformation had touched the property of the Church, but not the religion of the people. Even when Mary became Queen there was no disturbance. The supremacy of the Sovereign was not touched, nor was even the property of the confiscated monasteries restored : if they had been, Sir Nicholas would have lost his recently-acquired abbey lands in Newry. As it was he lost his post of Marshal. Sir George Stanley superseded him, and there is evidence that Nicholas shared some of the suspicion which had been incurred so openly by his brother. The following letter in the Acts of the Privy Council, dated 19 April, 1555, indicates this :—

“ A letter to the Deputy of Ireland, the Lord Chancellor there, Sir W. Fitzwilliam, Sir E. Rouse, and the rest of the Counsayll there, that whereas Sir N. and Sir R. Bagnall are commanded to repair with the realm to make perfect all reconnyges concerning themselves and their late retynues, they fearing so to do without some protection of their persons from any private malice, the said Deputy and the rest are requested to see them indifferently handled according to justice, and that they may quietly tarry there without private displeasure, and also the said Sir W. FitzWilliam and Sir Ed. Rouse are required to join with Justice Bathe and to examine their causes and in case they shall find matter to charge them with then, to take sufficient sureties of them to answer the law and to signify their doings herein, or otherwise so to declare them.”

Sir Ralph repaired to France instead of Ireland : but Sir Nicholas who had probably in Mary's accession gone immediately to London, seems to have settled first suspicions by entering with substantial recognizances for his future loyalty to the new Queen. In the following year the following minute appears in the Acts of the Privy Council :—

“ Nicholas Bagnoll de Stoke supra Trent in comitatu Stafford, miles, recognavit se detere serempeniis dominis regi et regne mille libras.

“ The condition of this recognizance is such that of the above bounden Sir Nicholas Bagnoll (*sic*) Kt after his arrival in the realm of Ireland do from time to time upon ten days' warning not only exhibit and present himself so long as he remaineth there unto the Lord Fitzwaters, now Deputy of that realm, but also give his con-

tinual attendance upon him during the time he shall commande him so to do, and being on this side and seas here within the realm do likewise from time to time give the like attendence upon the Lords of the Privy Council having the like admonition of ten days warning from their Lordships thereunto that then this present obligation to be void and of none effect, or else to stand and abide in his full force and virtue. S. James. 7 May, 1556."

Sir Nicholas must have kept up his connection with Staffordshire during Elizabeth's reign, for he was returned a member for Stoke-upon-Trent in 1558. When his brother Sir Ralph Bagenal, was obliged to fly the country in Queen Mary's reign, he assigned his property in Staffordshire to Sir Nicholas, which no doubt accounts for his being elected Knight of the Shire.

V

When Queen Elizabeth came to the Throne in 1559, Sir Nicholas, contrary to his hopes, was not at first restored to his old post of Marshal, in which Sir George Stanley was continued. The ex-Marshal had to be content with a mere Captaincy. The ill-success of Stanley's military and political career under the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Sussex for the next five years may have consoled him. It certainly was very pronounced. Shane O'Neill became more and more rebellious and refractory, and the failure of Sussex to conquer Ulster or to keep the rest of Ireland quiet at last ended in his recall. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Sidney, under whom Sir Nicholas had served in a former Viceroyalty. Sidney was a friend of the Earl of Leicester, who had always been a patron of Bagenal, so together with the recommendation of the Lord Justice, Sir N. Arnold, it is not surprising to find the Queen reappointing him to the office of Marshal.

This change for the better was badly wanted, for it would seem as though things had not been going well with the Knight Marshal in Newry. His Irish neighbours close by, the Maginnis and the O'Neills, little liked his power and property, which affected them nearly. After his marriage he, perhaps, wished himself back in Wales, where he could settle more comfortably on his wife's estates. At all events a letter from Dublin was received by Cecil, dated the 23rd April, 1562, in which Sir Nicholas complains that "Shane O'Neill's followers have greatly spoiled his lands and tenants. When he had office and credit his lands were worth more than £10 per acre, and now they are altogether wasted. He desires to part with them to the Queen in exchange for lands in England,"

For the next six years, 1565–1571, Sir Nicholas served under Sir Henry Sidney in his long and unrelenting campaigns against Shane O'Neill, who was finally killed by the Scots in 1567. Sidney then turned his attention to Munster, which he overran with comparative ease, marching from Clonmel to Cork and Limerick. Before he resigned his post he had travelled nearly every part of the country, and had restored the sovereignty of England to something like a reality. In one of his letters to Cecil in 1569, deploring the trials and pains of a Viceroy and the lack of men of mark he says, "I have not a man of the Council of any action or effect but Cusack and Bagenal."

No doubt Sir Nicholas had suffered severely in pocket by the loss of his post as Marshal for so many years. He was in embarrassed circumstances, and to this fact may be attributed his curious connection with the notorious Thomas Stukely. The strange adventures of this Devonshire gentleman were in everybody's mouth in court and camp at this time. He posed as an empire builder and colonist. He was in reality a spendthrift, a rogue, and a pirate. He had all the audacious characteristics without any of the success of the Elizabethan sea-rovers. He imposed upon everybody at home and abroad except Elizabeth, whose instincts detected the traitorous braggart and gilded villain. Stukely came to Ireland, where in spite of being caught redhanded in piracy he captivated both the Lord Justice Arnold and Shane O'Neill, who used him as a go-between in his relations with Dublin Castle. Amongst other feats that he attempted was to become Marshal of the Queen's army in Ireland. Finding Sir Nicholas in low water and discontented with his prospects, he persuaded him to sell him his office of Marshal and his lands in Ireland for £3,000. Sidney was inclined to sanction the bargain, no doubt desiring to help his friend the Marshal. But in England there was great opposition from Cecil; and the Queen, who had seen through the adventurer's character, railed at him in good set terms, would not hear of the appointment, and ordered him home to answer the charges of piracy made against him in the Admiralty Court. Stukely, it is needless to say, would not face the lioness, and went to Spain and offered his services to Philip, who used him as one of his instruments against England. After an extraordinary career, Stukely ended his life in the battlefield in a raid in Morocco.

In 1576 the noblemen and gentry of the Pale began to agitate against the *cesse*, claiming that it was illegal, and that they should be discharged from its imposition. Holinshed gives the following account of an episode arising out of the agitation:—"Cesse was a prerogative of the prince to impose upon the country a certain

proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be delivered at a reasonable price called the Queen's price, to all and every such soldiers as she is contented to be at charge with all, and so much as is thought competent for the Lord Deputy's house ; and which price is to be yearly rated and assessed by the Lord Deputy and the Council with the assistance and assent of the nobility of the country, at such rates and prices as the souldiers may live of his wages and the said Deputy of his entertainment." Holinshed goes on to say :—" The Viscount Baltinglass of the chief impugnors and malcontents against the cesse wrote his letters to the Earl of Ormonde, then attendant at the Court of England, and complaineth of great injuries and spoils to the value of £200 in monie, besides numbers of sheep and kine done upon him and his tenants by the English soldiers under Sir N. Bagenal Kt. Marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglass in the time that they served upon the rebel Rory Oge."

These letters were submitted to the Queen, and Sir N. Bagenal was called upon to answer such " hurts " as were objected against him. Sir Luke Dillon and Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam were appointed a Commission to examine into the matter. The result was that Sir N. Bagenal was acquitted of any responsibility for the damages done, having " given great charge to every Captain to foresee that no injury should be offered, no spoils committed, nor anything to be taken by any soldier or other person without present payment, protesting and proclaiming execution according to Martial Law upon such as should do the contrarie."

The Lords of the Council considered the question very fully, and came to the conclusion that " the surmises (of the Lord Baltinglass) were made rather to aggravate his grief conceived against the imposition of the Cesse than for any good matter in truth."¹

The following letter from the Privy Council in London, 1576, gives the best evidence of the influence wielded by Sir Nicholas with the Irish Chiefs in Ulster :—

" A letter to Tirloughe Lenoughe that whereas their Lordships are informed by Sir Nicholas Bagnall Knight Marshall of Ireland that whatsoever hath passed heretofore he is now very well inclined and affected to obedience and dutie towards her Majestie for the which as their Lordships are very glad and do wish the continuance thereof, so they have thought good first to let him understand how much he is beholding with the same Sir Nicholas Bagenal for the good report he hath made of him here and to signifie unto him that if he shall

¹ *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. vi.

perform the duty as a good and faithful subject unto Her Majesty according to the said good report and their Lordships expectations thereupon had of him they shall be readie by all good offices not only to continue Her Majestie's good opinion presently conceived but also by all other good means to augment her Highness favour and good liking of him. And as the said Sir Nicholas Bagnall hath friended him here by such good speeches as he hath delivered both unto Her Majesty and unto their Lordships in his behalf so shall he do well to follow his advice and direction concerning his demeanure and duty towards Her Majestie's deputy there, whom he is to obey in all matters touching Her Majesty service." (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 3 Feb., 1576.)

The admirable state of the Bagenal property is reported by Sir Henry Sidney, who visited Newry in November, 1575, in his progress through Ulster. "I found," he writes, "such good policy and order in the country where the Marshall dwelleth, his lands so well manured, his tenants so well cherished, and maintained, the town so well planted with inhabitants, and increased in beauty and building as he is much to be commended as well that he useth his tenants to live so wealthily under him, and his own bounty, and large hospitality and housekeeping, so able and willing to give entertainment to so many and chiefly to all those that have occasion to travel to and fro northwards, his house lying in the open highway to their passage."¹ (*Collins' Sidney Papers*, vol. i, 75, where are other references.)

From the day of his first appointment as Marshal Nicholas seems to have been the one indispensable man to the Government of the country in the affairs of Ireland. Viceroy's came and went, but the Knight Marshal remained always in office, the trusted servant of every Tudor Sovereign until his death.

His experience in the Irish frontier fighting of the day was no doubt unrivalled, and his knowledge of and acquaintance with the various septs and chiefs of the native Irish and of their language, must have been invaluable to the Council in London. With Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil he was in regular communication, and in the *State Papers* are to be found frequent mention of his visits to England when detailed information was required in difficult crises.

With the various Deputies under whom he served he was on intimate terms, but especially with Sir Henry Sidney. In 1578,

¹ In this progress Sir H. Sidney was accompanied by the Marshall, the Barons of Louth and Dungannon, Sir E. Fitton, Sir L. Dillon, The Chief Baron, John Chaloner, Secretary, and Jaques Wingfield. The military escort which accompanied the Viceroy on this occasion consisted of "400 footmen and 200 horse of the Forces of Her Majesty's army."

when Sir Henry was deeply engaged in dealing with "the insolvency of the rebels, the O'Moores and O'Connors on the borders of the King's Co.," he was obliged to leave the country. He at once sent for Sir Nicholas "to take charge of the service in my absence for the prosecution of the rebel, making him my lieutenant of Leinster and Meath."

A letter from Sir Nicholas to Lord Leicester is interesting for its picture of Ulster in 1566 and an accurate diagnosis of Shane O'Neill's character. He says he never "knew the country so out of order. Robbing, stealing, and killing went on throughout the English Pale. The countries of the Walshes, Byrnes, and Tooles, within four miles of Dublin were robbing each other. Shane O'Neill had now all the countries from Sligo to Carrickfergus, and from thence to Carlingford, and from Carlingford to Drogheda. The Deputy had done all he could to bring Shane to quietness. But in the Marshal's opinion Shane would never come to any Governor, for "he has won all by the sword and so will keep it."

Nor was it alone the O'Neills country that was so wild and lawless. East Breny, the modern Cavan, Sir Nicholas once described as "a territory where never writ was current;" which it was "almost sacrilege to look into."

The best testimony to the value of Sir Nicholas' service to the State is the letter which he bore to London in 1576 from Sir Henry Sidney. It set out the good cause the Privy Council had to "like well of him," and with what great dexterity, care, and good endeavour he had executed their commands. Besides being a "great stay" in Newry he was also praised for being "a bountiful housekeeper and a ready willing host."¹ They also recognized his enlargement of the town and the bestowal of his substance in building. In short the Council found that such a "necessary councillor and servant" could not long be spared from Ireland, and they begged the London Privy Council to grant him his particular suits and dispatch him back as speedily as possible.

In connection with the Marshal's enlargement of the town of Newry it is proper here to mention the offer which he and his son Henry made to Queen Elizabeth "for making a walled town in Ulster." In 1586 they undertook within seven years to build a wall of a mile or more in compass about the town of Newry. The wall was to be 16 foot high beside the battlement and 5 foot in thickness, with towers, gates and flankers. The estimated cost was £5,000. They also offered to erect a schoolhouse "where all

¹ The English Privy Council asked the Marshal to lend his house at Newry to the Earl of Essex for the winter, "thearle contenting him and his tenants for all things that he shall take."

the youth of the Province may be educated in civilitie and learning," and endow the school with the tithes of a lordship and provide a preacher to "plant religion." In return the Marshal and his son asked for the assignment to them of the beeves and other impositions laid by the Government upon the McEnnis and McMahon septs who lived near by. They also bargained to have the same position and power in Ulster as Sir R. Bingham had in Connacht, and that there should always be a garrison of 100 soldiers in Newry paid by the Government. The proposal was not entertained by the Council in London. Had it been carried out, the walled town of Newry would have anticipated Londonderry by a generation.¹

Next year Sir Henry was summoned to London. In writing to the Privy Council he says he had summoned Sir Nicholas to take charge of the Service in his absence for the prosecution of the rebels, making him Lieutenant of Leinster and Munster.

Writing again in April, 1578, giving a survey of the general situation in Ireland, he says of Ulster: "Amongst your Majesty's servants the best instrument for the border is the Marshall, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, who till of late, that I your Deputy employed him in your service in Leinster, where he hath done your Majesty's good and very acceptable service, did remain upon his own lands, and was the only countenance of the Northern border."

Once again in 1580 Sir Henry in a letter to Lord Grey, his successor from London, he recommends several men to his especial consideration. After mentioning the Baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Nicholas Malby, and Sir Harry Harrington, he says:—"It is not for lack of love that I place not aright your Marshall there Sir N. Bagenal, whom I have ever found a faithful constant friend and serviceable and most fast and assured to that family wherewith I am matched and with which your Lordship is allied. His son my Godson and Knight (Sir Henry Bagenal) I recommend unto your Lordship."

It is interesting also to find that Sir Philip Sidney, the celebrated son of Sir Henry, had a word for the old Marshal. Writing from the Court at London on 28th April, 1578, to Edward Waterhouse, Secretary of Ireland, he winds up as follows:—"Commend me to my Lord President, to the noble Sir Nicholas (Malby) whom I bear special good will to; to my cousin Harry Harrington whom I long to see in health; Sir Nicholas Bagenal; Mr. Agarde's daughter, my cousin Spikeman for your sake, and whosoever is Mayor of Dublin for my sake."

There is a curious allusion to Sir Nicholas in the *Sidney Papers*,

¹ See Ordnance Survey Correspondence for Co. Down. R. I. Academy.

which illustrates his influence] in the appointment of the day. Writing to the Viceroy upon the necessity of his coming to London, Sir Henry Ratcliffe says :—" I assuredly perceive that till your own coming and purgation things will not be perfectly sound for though the depth of suspicion may be removed, yet all jealousy is not put away ; and though the wound doth seem to be cured, yet I am feared the scar doth remain which not thoroughly healed may perhaps break out hereafter."

Then comes as a postscript :—" My lady of Hunsdon did require me to write unto your Lordship that she did not see her husband or sons should be regarded here if they were not considered there. Here be askers enough, and as I think nothing worth the having unrequired, I remember the saying used to Mr. Bagnoll in the North of Ireland ' keep for me, Nicholas.' "

The meaning is not very clear, but it probably indicates that the Marshal had opportunities to serve his friends, and that he was not to give away everything without considering them in advance.

In 1585 Queen Elizabeth summoned through her Viceroy Sir John Perrott a Parliament in Ireland. It consisted of 26 Spiritual Lords, 26 Temporal Lords, 54 Knights of the Shire. Four cities were represented by 8 members, and 32 boroughs by 64 members. In the Parliament Sir Nicholas, together with Sir Hugh McGennis, were Knights of the Shire for the County Down.

VI

On the death of Shane O'Neill in 1567 an act of attainder was passed and the country of Tyrone was declared forfeit. Tirlough Leinagh O'Neill, Shane's nephew, who by the law of Tanistry had been elected by the tribe to the headship, was permitted by Elizabeth to occupy this position.

A Commission was formed in 1570 with instructions for " a parle to be had with Tirilough Lenagh (as the document ran), at Newry to make some peaceful settlement." The Privy Council in Dublin " for the great trust and confidence that we repose in the wisdom discretion and assured fidelity of you Sir Nicholas Bagenal Marshall of Her Majesty's army within this realm of Ireland, Sir Thomas Cusack, knight, one of Her Majesty's privy Council, Sir James Dowdall, 2nd justice of Her Majesty's bench, Terence Daniel, Clerk, dean of Armagh, and Sir John Bedlo, Knight," appointed these persons " to meet, treat and talk " with Tirlough, giving them full power to hear and determine all causes in controversy, and order restitution and amends to all parties aggrieved. The private in-

structions to the Commission are too lengthy to give here, but they are an excellent example of the Tudor diplomacy ending as follows :—
 “ Finally if you find him conformable embrace it at your discretions, if not get as long a time of truce as you can and return in peace.”

The new O'Neill submitted, but in a letter to Lord Leicester Sir Nicholas discounts his submission by saying “ this peace can be of no better assurance than other ratifications have been.” In fact to keep the peace the Marshal had been retained in Newry instead of accompanying the Viceroy, Sir William Pelham, to Munster on his raid against John Desmond. Sir William seems to have appreciated Sir Nicholas, for the latter says :—“ For your Honour's sake he so friendly entreated me that I cannot but beseech your Lordships to give thanks on my behalf for his said courtesy, but also to crave humbly that your Honour will not forget but to commend me to the Lord Deputy to be protected with his best favour for your sake.”¹ There is the true Tudor touch in this appeal for court influence. Sir Nicholas evidently knew by experience that a man who grants one favour will generally grant another

Tirlough Leinagh however did not trouble the Dublin Privy Council much longer. He was then advanced in years, and died shortly after the successful “ parle.” Thenceforward Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, fills the canvas of Ulster, proving himself the last and most dangerous enemy of the English rule in Ireland.

VII

At the close of his long career in Ireland Sir Nicholas became embroiled with Sir John Perrott, the Queen's Deputy, one of the most remarkable personages of the day, but a man of ungovernable temper. There were factions in the Privy Council and bitter quarrels and recriminations, in which the Chancellor Loftus and the Marshal generally opposed the Deputy. Things at last grew so bad that a personal collision took place between Perrott and the Marshal. A curious and interesting account of this incident is given by Sir N. White, the Master of the Rolls, in a letter to Lord Burghley (see *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1586–1588, p. 360).

The Lord Deputy was lodging at the time at St. Mary's Abbey on the left bank of the Liffey opposite the Castle. It would appear that a dispute had arisen between the Marshal and the Deputy concerning one Patrick Cullan, who had taken a letter of complaint against the Deputy from Turlough O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth.

¹ *Sidney Papers.*

The Deputy sent for four of the Privy Council, including Sir N. White to examine Cullan at his lodgings. The Councillors came, but evidently did not like the job, and suggested to the Deputy that to allay any suspicion it would be better to examine the matter in the Council Chamber. Meanwhile, Sir Nicholas Bagenal had got wind of the business, and came across the river to the Deputy's lodgings. When his arrival was announced the Deputy sent word :— "Let him stay awhile and I will speak with him." The Marshal, however, immediately entered the chamber and a warm colloquy ensued. The Marshal said that the Deputy should not be present at the examination, and declared he "mistrusted there would be false measure used." Perrott was an exceedingly choleric man, and repelled the accusation by a defiance. The Marshal answered with equal heat and defiance. The Deputy then rose and went towards the Marshal and "had some clasping" with him, at the same time saying if any other man had defied him he should hang him. Sir Nicholas greatly enraged raised his staff, when the other Privy Councillors intervened, there was a struggle and the Marshal fell down. On rising recriminations were renewed and each of the principals gave the other the lie. The Deputy called the Marshal a dotard, winding up with "a man would think you were drunk." "Nay you are drunk," quoth the Marshal, and so the unedifying affair ended.

A man of Sir Nicholas' temperament was not likely to sit down under this attack of Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy though he was, and accordingly he immediately indited a letter to his old friend Lord Leicester. The Marshal said the dispute was occasioned through some hard dealings of the Lord Deputy towards his son Sir Henry Bagenal. He described the Deputy as entering into most outrageous fury and "forgetting both his own place and my old years, not contented to have used me with unworthy and barbarous terms, laid violent hands upon me ; he arose from the place where he sat, struck me with his hand, and beat me down to the ground ; and had not Mr. Justice Gardener and Mr. Secretary Fenton been there present God knoweth how it had further fared with me. Oh ! That I live to endure this wrong, and that his place doth free him from my revenge. Tho' I am nearly fourscore years of age, yet I protest in the presence of the living God and as I look for salvation by the shedding of the blood of Christ Jesus, that neither loss of goods, lands, or life, but only and solely the regard of Her Highness' honour, which I hold more dear than life itself, doth contain me, but that I would take due revenge in his blood for this villainy, though it were to my own overthrow, and the utter ruin and destruction of my whole posterity. I therefore crave at Her Majesty's gracious hands and your Honours'

of Her Council that my poor credit may not thus be defaced without due and convenient revenge. Dublin, 16th May, 1587.”¹

It would be impossible for any contemporary to have better described the Marshal's character than does this letter. All the old man's impetuosity, rage and desire to give blow for blow are written in every line of it. There is something terrible in the violence of his imprecations and the eagerness to sacrifice everything for the gratification of wiping out the insult which had been placed upon him. How the affair was composed is not related. But Perrott shortly afterwards was recalled to England in disgrace, and died on the scaffold. Whoever mourned his fate we may be sure the Marshal was not amongst the number.

At last the old Marshal grew so infirm that he could neither walk nor ride, and so three years after the broil he sealed and delivered his resignation into the hands of Sir Patrick Barnewall (his son-in-law) in the 32nd year of the reign of the queen. Her Majesty graciously accepted the resignation, making it clear that the Marshal resigned only on account of age and infirmity, though not of mind or body, and had become unable to execute his office according to his own desire. She appointed his son, Sir Henry, to the office and also to the office of one of the Privy Council. (August 25, 1590.)

Sir Nicholas died in 1590 at Newry Castle, and was buried in the Church which he had built. His name and arms are to be seen to-day graven in stone on the Church tower with the following inscription :—
“This stone was taken from the South Wall of the belfry on repairing this Church and placed here by order of Francis, Earl of Kilmorey, Lord of the Exempt Jurisdiction of Newry the 18 June 1830.” Lord Kilmorey inherited his Irish Estates through the granddaughter of Sir Nicholas, co-heiress of his Irish property.

For fifty years Sir Nicholas had been the military right-hand of the Irish Privy Council in the North. His knowledge of the native chiefs and of the country must have been wide and varied. He was continually in Dublin, and his name appears very frequently signing orders and attending the meetings of the Privy Council which were held in various towns. All the accounts of the man show him to have been of an eager, quick, impetuous temperament, with a strong masterful mind, and by no means guileless. His life began with a brawl in a tavern with some “light persons,” and almost the last thing we hear of him is that he was “embroiled” almost to blows with Sir John Perrott the Viceroy.

Sir Nicholas married in 1556 Eleanor, third daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Griffith, of Penrhyn, North Wales, whose

¹ *Cul. State Papers. Ourew Papers.*

father was Chamberlain of North Wales, and lineally descended from Ednyfed Fychan.¹ In right of his wife Nicholas became seated at Plas Newydd, near Bangor, and owner of considerable estates in Wales, which descended through one of his grand-daughters to the present Marquis of Anglesey. He had a large family, of whom two sons and six daughters survived and married. His eldest son, Henry, adopted the profession of arms, was knighted, and succeeded his father in the office of Marshall. Henry's only son, Arthur, left no heir, and his estates descended to his two daughters. Dudley, Sir Nicholas' second son (the name evidently adopted in honour of Lord Leicester), met a violent death at the hands of the Kavanaghs, a powerful sept. in County Carlow, after he had entered into possession of the Barony of Idrone, which his father had purchased for him from Sir Peter Carew. Dudley's descendants suffered in life and property from their attachment to the Stuarts and the Roman Catholic religion in which they were brought up.² The eldest daughter, Frances, married Sir Oliver Plunket, Lord of Louth. Mary married Sir Patrick Barnewall, of Grace Dieu. Margaret married Sir Christopher Plunket, of Dunshoghly, "an eminent and gracious lawyer." All these men took an active part in the politics of their generation. A fourth daughter, Ann, married Sir Dudley Loftus, son and heir to Archbishop Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from his official position, a strong Protestant and a very important and influential personage. Mabel, the youngest, married under the most romantic circumstances the celebrated Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the last and greatest of the Irish native chieftains, concerning which a very interesting chapter could be written. Only one daughter, Isabel, married an Englishman—viz., Sir Edward Kynaston, of Oteley, Salop. It will be seen therefore that as far as his daughters were concerned Sir Nicholas Bagenal's position as Marshal and Privy Councillor secured good matrimonial alliances. These intermarriages with the Roman Catholic gentry ultimately affected the political fortunes of Sir Nicholas's descendants profoundly. Unlike his brother Ralph, Nicholas does not seem to

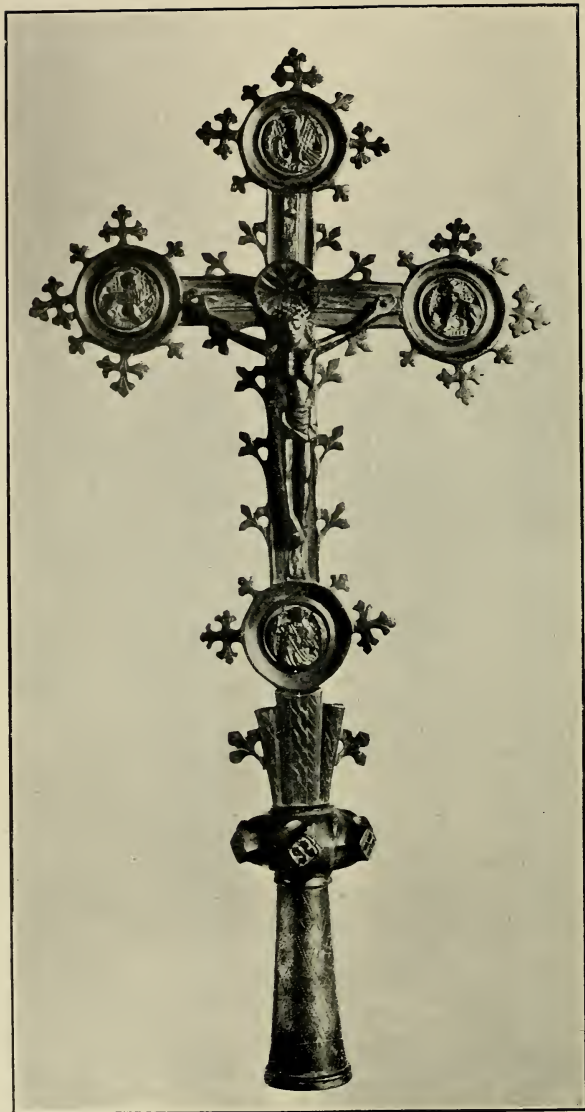
¹ In Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, is to be seen on the North Wall of the transept the following monumental inscription:—

Sir Edward Griffith. | Ob A.D. 1632. | The remains of Edward Griffith of Penrin in the Co. of Carnarvon, Esq., son and heir to Sir | William Griffith, Knight, who arrived in this land | 28th day of Sept. 1631 and died on the | 12 March following, one of the Privy Counsellors, and Captain of two hundred and fifty foot-men : | erected by Sir Nicholas Bagnol, Knight Marshall | of this realm, who married Ellen, one | of his daughters and co-heirs, and now renewed by | Sir Henry Bagnol, Knight, son and heir to the said | Sir Nicholas and Dame Ellen.

² His grandson, Walter Bagenal, suffered death in 1653 in Kilkenny at the hands of a High Commissioner which sat to try participators in the Rebellion of 1641.

have been a very ardent Protestant, and was probably quite content to see his daughters well matched to men of good property of old English descent, who had held to the religion of their forbears.

In *Archæologia Cambrensis*, third series, vol. 14, page 97, is an article on "Berw in the township of Porthamel and the Hollands," containing references to the Bagenals connection with Anglesea, where in right of his wife Sir Nicholas Bagenal had large estates.



PROCESSIONAL CROSS (FRONT)

Found at Sheephouse, Co. Meath

PROCESSIONAL CROSS, PRICKET-CANDLESTICK, AND
BELL, FOUND TOGETHER AT SHEEPHOUSE,
NEAR OLDBRIDGE, CO. MEATH

By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, *Vice-President*

[Read 26 JANUARY 1915]

THE Royal Irish Academy is the fortunate possessor of a very fine processional cross which, together with a pricket-candlestick and a small hand-bell of bronze, was discovered in 1899 by John Farrell, resting on the rock, covered by some stones, a few feet from the surface of the ground in a quarry at Sheephouse, near Oldbridge, Co. Meath. The objects were purchased by the Academy from the finder shortly after their discovery, but have had to await the publication they so well deserve until the present occasion.

Oldbridge, as will be seen on consulting a map, is only a short distance (some two miles as the crow flies) from Mellifont, and the writer is tempted to conjecture that the processional cross, candlestick and bell may have formerly belonged to the celebrated monastery at the latter place, and have been buried by some person at or soon after the period of its dissolution.

It is unfortunate that no detailed inventory of the chattels of the Abbey of Mellifont at the time it was dissolved are available, as is the case in so many of the English communities¹; but in an account presented before Commissioners under a commission bearing date 16th August, 32 Henry VIII,² the vases, jewels, ornaments of silver, bells, utensils, furniture, other goods, and the arrears of rent of the late Monastery of Mellifont were returned as worth £110 7s. 3d. The monastery therefore must at that time have been in possession of jewels, plate, &c., of considerable value, and it seems at least a plausible theory that the cross, candlestick and bell were part of the furniture of the Abbey church, and were removed in the troubled times of the dissolution of the religious houses and buried in the ground with a view to their subsequent recovery. Possibly the person who deposited them never had an opportunity of disinterring them, so that the secret of their burial place became lost.

¹ For some particulars of English communities, see *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii, p. 201. 16th August, 32 Henry VIII

² *Monastery Account Roll, Chattels*, 1539-40 (Public Record Office, 6 G. 12.3). The writer is indebted to Mr. M. J. McEnery, Deputy Keeper of the Records, for assistance in the examination of this Roll.

At the same time no one is more conscious than the writer that the connexion of the objects found at Sheephouse with Mellifont is at present only a matter of bare probability, and he has no wish to press the point in any way.¹

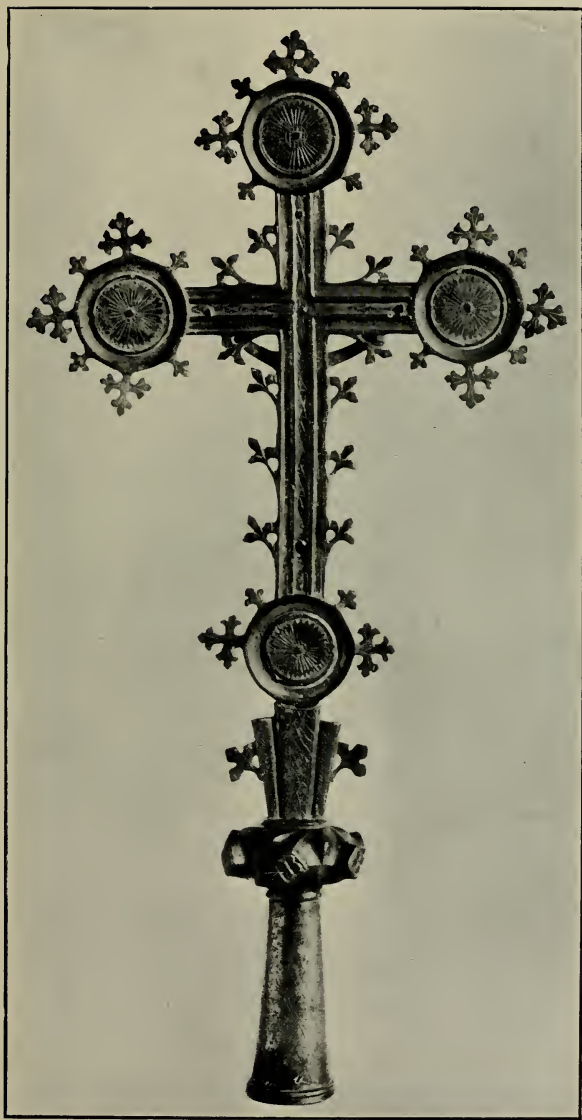
The various objects comprising the find may now be described in detail.

The cross, the surface of which is a good deal patinated, is of bronze or latten, gilt, and was made in two parts, an upper portion and a socket, the former being furnished with a tang $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, which fits into the latter; the whole cross having a length of 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, while the span of the arms is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The upper portion of the cross has a strip of copper with a diamond pattern in dark blue enamel along the centre of each limb, reaching as far as the circle at each extremity. The figure of our Lord was riveted to the cross over this strip, and the circles at the extremities were filled with plates of bronze, to which were attached open-work symbols of the four evangelists. The Saviour wears a loin-cloth, and His head is encircled with a crown of thorns. An ornamental nimbus is affixed to the back of the head by means of a pin (cast as a portion of the head) which reaches to the cross. This nimbus is now very loose and a good deal bent. The symbols of the four evangelists occupy the places on the cross determined by ecclesiastical usage—that is to say, the eagle for St. John is on the upper limb, and the winged man for St. Matthew at the foot, the winged lion of St. Mark is placed on the right arm, and the winged calf for St. Luke on the left. They are cut out of pieces of bronze about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and affixed to plates filling the circles as mentioned above. Examination of the illustration will show that each is provided with a scroll, but upon these, instead of the names of the symbols, are strokes simulating letters. (Plate I).

On the back of the cross the limbs are divided by raised lines into three panels, the centre being filled with an incised diamond pattern which at the junction of the limbs takes the shape of a four-leaved conventional flower-like form. The outer panels are plain. The discs in the circles, to which the symbols of the evangelists are fixed, are ornamented with a conventional representation of a flower, like a large daisy (Plate II).

The socket, which measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and whose mouth has a diameter of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, was made in three parts, an upper and a lower portion, which are fixed into a decorated knop. The

¹ There is in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy in the National Museum the stem and foot of a monstrance or chalice of copper, gilt, which is probably of early sixteenth century date, and is stated to have been found at Mellifont.



PROCESSIONAL CROSS (BACK)

Found at Sheephouse, Co. Meath

upper portion contains a small socket on each side, no doubt to hold branches ending in a figure of the Virgin on the right side and St. John on the left; the crocketing is also continued on it, and it is ornamented on the front with an incised rope pattern, and on the back with a diamond form which is continued up the back of the upper portion of the cross. The moulded knop is of a type common in the stems of chalices and the sockets of crosses in the late mediaeval period. It is formed with six lobes, ending in lozenges, enclosing quatrefoils which may very possibly have been enamelled. Between the lobes above and below are compartments ornamented with incised long leaf-like figures. The lower portion of the socket is decorated with a linear pattern of broad bands crossing one another, the triangular spaces in between being filled with saltires.

The Academy's cross should be compared with an almost exactly similar one of about the same date, the property of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which is made of latten, originally parcel-gilt; in this case the side branches for the Virgin and St. John are also missing: but preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum is the socket of a similar cross containing the side branches with the figures, lacking the upper portion of the cross. Both these are figured in *English Church Furniture*, 2nd ed. (Cox & Harvey), on plate facing p. 54. The whole find should also be compared with the very interesting set of latten objects of early sixteenth century date discovered in 1913 concealed in St. Laurence's Church, Guernsey. These consist of a processional cross and base, part of a censer, two standing candlesticks, part of a triple candlestick intended to be set in a socket, four branches, and a loose bowl and pricket. They are illustrated and described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. xxvi, p. 3.

Until the end of the fifteenth century there was no difference between the altar cross and the processional cross. The same cross fulfilled both purposes, being furnished with a socket, as in the present example, so that it could be mounted on a staff for processions, or placed upon a base for an altar cross.¹ In the Warwick Pageant, which may be dated between 1485 and 1490, Plate xxvi shows a representation of Earl Richard kissing a precious cross which is socketed so that it could be mounted on a staff as a processional cross, or fixed on to a foot when placed upon the altar.² A very interesting example of a foot of latten, gilt, of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date, belonging to the parish church of

¹ Reusens, *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne* vol. i, p. 485.

² *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, K.G. Edited by Viscount Dillon and Sir W. H. St. John Hope. 1914.

Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, upon which a cross could be set on the altar, after its removal from the staff upon which it had been carried during the procession, is figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. xxiii, p. 49. Another example will be found, *ibid.* second series, vol. xxvi, p. 42.

The bell is a small hand-bell of bronze cast in one piece, measuring 4 inches in height, including the handle, and $2\frac{15}{16}$ inches in diameter at the mouth. It has a pierced trefoil-shaped handle, and the body is encircled with raised ornamental lines. The mouth is widely splayed (Plate III, fig. 1). The loop for attaching the clapper is intact, but the clapper is missing. The top of the bell is filled with some hard cement-like substance acquired during its burial in the ground. It is probable that this bell may be regarded as a sacring-bell—that is, a bell rung at the consecration in the Mass. Such bells were frequently of silver, as appears from many church inventories: but this was not always so, as the sacring-bell at Farley in Surrey was made of latten,¹ and that of Hollywell, Lincolnshire, was made of brass,² while others from the same county are recorded as having been sold to braziers.³ The bells must have been of small size, as in some cases after the Reformation they were sold and turned by their purchasers into horse bells, being described as hung at a horse's ear⁴; while one from Hoghe, Lincolnshire, was sold to a certain Austen Earle "to put about a calve's neck."⁵

It is of interest to note in passing that in several cases the inventories of church furniture compiled shortly after the Reformation describe hand-bells being sold to be made into mortars. The Royal Irish Academy's collection in the National Museum contains an example of the converse of this—*i.e.*, a mortar converted into a bell, but it is late in date.

The pricket-candlestick measures 1 foot in length, including the spike: its base has a diameter of $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches (Plate, III fig. 2). It appears to have been made in two pieces—the body and the spike. The inside of the base seems to have been turned. This candlestick belongs to a type common in the fifteenth century, when the knop found in the centre of the stem of earlier examples is replaced by rings, generally three in number.⁶ It probably formed one of a pair which stood on the altar; its fellow—like the two side branches of the cross with the figures of the Virgin and St. John—apparently having been lost before the objects were buried in the ground.

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Second series, vol. v p. 29.

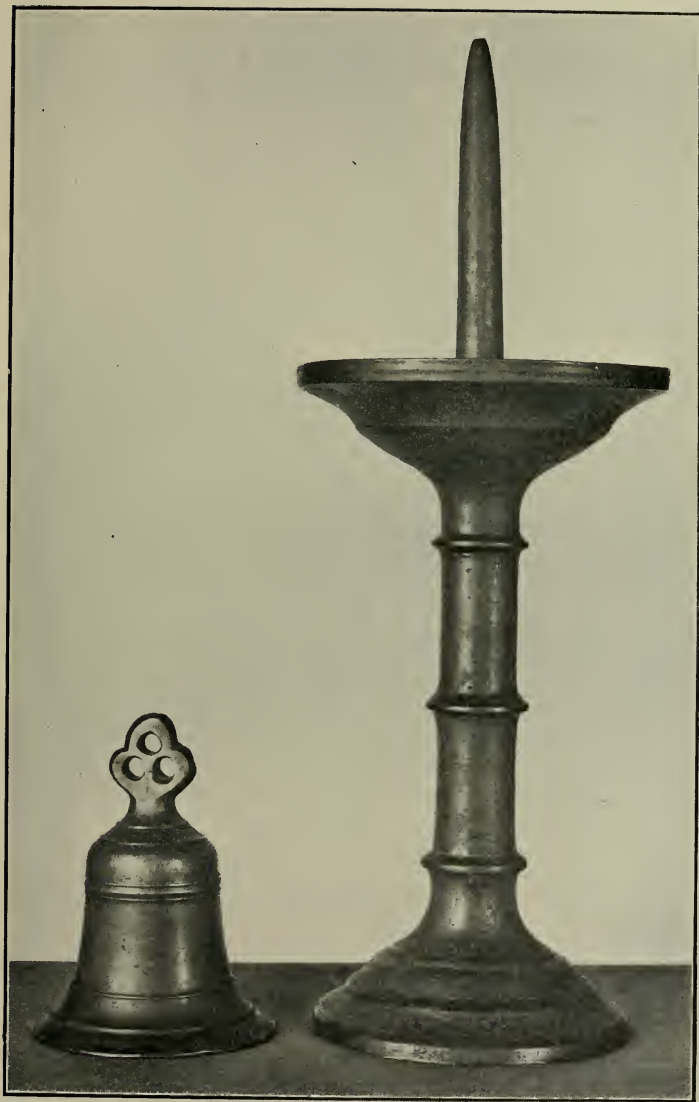
² *English Church Furniture*. Peacock. 1866. P. 106.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 95.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 95.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁶ Reusens, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 419.



(FIG. 1) BELL AND (FIG. 2) CANDLESTICK
Found at Sheephouse, Co. Meath

In conclusion it must be admitted that the cross does not show any distinctively Irish features, nor is it inscribed, and thus connected with an Irish family, as in the case of the beautiful silver-gilt processional cross, also in the Royal Irish Academy's collection, which was described in our *Journal*, vol. xv, p. 511. The cross found at Sheephouse is in appearance typically late mediaeval English work, and may be considered either as made in England and brought to this country, or as made here by an English craftsman working in accordance with English traditions. The bell and candlestick were probably made under the same conditions as the cross. All these objects may be dated to the late 15th or early 16th century. In this connexion it may be remembered that the statute forbidding the election of anyone of the Irish nation in Ireland to the office of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior, or to any benefice, was renewed in the early part of the fifteenth century (1416),¹ and that a rich community like Mellifont, with presumably (if the statute was obeyed), an English abbot would be likely to obtain its sacred furniture from England.

Whatever their place of origin may be, the objects were connected by use with Ireland, and this find must be looked upon as one of the most interesting groups of mediaeval antiquities that have been recorded as discovered in the island up to the present time.

¹ (Eng. S. 4 Hen. V, c. vi), *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 2, p. 197.

SOME ANCIENT DEEDS OF THE PARISH OF
ST. WERBURGH, DUBLIN, 1243-1676

BY HENRY F. BERRY, I.S.O. LITT.D., *Fellow*

[Submitted 8 DECEMBER 1914]

SOME time since, the Rev. W. J. McCreery, B.D., Rector of St. Werburgh's Parish, Dublin, kindly afforded me full access to its ancient Deeds, which are now lodged in the Public Record Office. They number 174, extending from the year 1243 to 1676, and they deal with premises in St. Werburgh street, Castle Street and Skinners' Row, which became the property of the proctors (later called churchwardens) of the parish. A very few are conversant with houses and land in Oxmantown and Swords.

In Celtic and Danish times, the parish was known as that of St. Martin of Tours, who was uncle of St. Patrick, and his church stood near the south end of St. Werburgh street, close to the Polegate of the ancient city, while a lane known as St. Martin's lay between it and Castle street.

The church dedicated to St. Werburgh was erected soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and named from the patron saint of Chester; it was much frequented by Bristol men, who were amongst the earliest settlers in Dublin. It contained chapels in honour of our Lady, St. Martin and St. Catherine, and is said to have been destroyed by fire in 1301. From the time of Archbishop Henry de Loundres, St. Werburgh's was appropriated to the Chancellor of St. Patrick's. Primate James Ussher was appointed to this church in 1607, and Edward Wetenhall, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, author of the well-known Greek and Latin Grammars, was curate here. Swift's friend, Dr. Patrick Delany, was rector of the parish, 1730-4.

Castle street was nearly as ancient as the castle itself, and from a very early period part of it was known as Lormeria, from its being inhabited by lorimers, *i.e.* spur and bit makers. On the north side of the street stood Corryngham's Inns, the residence of that family so far back as the reign of King Henry the Sixth.

The Skinners' Row extended from the Pillory at the west end of Castle street to the Tholsel at the east end of St. Nicholas street. The entire of the north side of this very narrow street was swept away in 1821, and the name of the south side changed to Christ

Church Place. On this side stood the "Carbrie" House, occupied early in the sixteenth century by Gerald, Earl of Kildare, which on the attainder of the FitzGerald was granted by Henry the Eighth to Pierce, ninth Earl of Ormond. At the end of the reign of King Charles the Second, it was converted into a coffee house by Richard Puc, being known as Dick's Coffee House, one of the most frequented in the city. This was demolished in 1780, and the site is now occupied by 6 to 8 Christ Church Place.

At the end of this paper are given lists of the chaplains and proctors whose names appear in the Deeds.

ST. WERBURGH STREET

The earliest document connected with this street is a grant for ever, dated *cir.* 1273-4, from William de Bristoll¹ and Juliana, his wife, daughter of Elias Burel,² to William Boniur, of land with buildings lying between St. Werburgh's Church and land which belonged to Elena Pollard.

William le Schereman acquired the messuage in which he dwelt from Juliana Honicote ;³ this he bequeathed to Agnes, his wife, for life ; after her death it was to be sold and the proceeds distributed in charity. She, Roger de Kildare and Thomas Faucon,⁴ the executors, in 1317, fearing the danger of delay and for the more speedy help of testator's soul, with licence of John le Marshal, official of the Court of Dublin, sold same to William, son of Roger de Kildare.

The next deed in point of date is one which deals with premises bounded by land belonging to Robert North,⁵ John de la Felde and William de Swords, which William Brown and Sidania, his wife,

¹ William de Bristoll was mayor of Dublin, 1271-2 ; 1288-9 ; 1290-1. He had been previously provost.

² Elias Burel was mayor 1237-8 ; 1250 ; 1259-60.

³ Juliana Honicote or Honicode was a female brewer, a class in the community as to which a special enactment is found among the "Laws and usages of the city of Dublin," enrolled in the *Chain Book* of the Corporation. In 1308, she was defendant in an action instituted by the Abbey of St. Thomas as to the custom of ale and mead, which had been bestowed on the abbey by King John. (*Proceedings in the matter of the Custom called Tolboll*) *Proc. R.I.A.* xxviii. 169.

⁴ Thomas Faucon, skinner, in 1335 held premises in the parish of St. Nicholas, having previously had a grant of a tenement in High street.

⁵ Robert del North owned land in Sutter Lane, parish of St. Werburgh, a messuage in Bothe street and a curtilage near the fosse of Dublin Castle, 1322-6. His will, proved in 1346 (No. 633 Christ Church Deeds), directs his burial in St. Werburgh's Church, and he mentions his wife Agnes and Sir Thomas Hamund the parish chaplain. He left money for building St. Werburgh's Church, and the new chapel of the B.V.M. North's dwelling-house was opposite the castle, and he owned four shops in Shoemakers' street.

granted for ever to Hugh de Calce¹, Chancellor of St. Patrick's. The deed of grant was made in 1342, and there are further dealings by de Calce, who in 1349 enfeoffed Sir Robert Gowys, priest, and John de Carletone, clerk, by one deed, and Thomas Sutton by another.

William Deyer, of Cargreff, Co. York, released to Nicholas Ardoun, of Dublin, two messuages which he had of the feoffment of Alice, heir of Thos. Sutton, of Dublin, lying between the street and John Foyle's orchard on the east, and between a tenement of Robert Sutton, canon of St. Patrick's, on the north, to said Nicholas' tenement on the south. The release was made between 1406 and 1410; and prior to this Joan, sister of said Nicholas, had released to him her claim to same. In 1414 Nicholas Ardoun, *alias* Sutton, gave Thomas Fannyn² and Margaret, his wife, a tenement and waste place, on the east and west of which they covenanted to build two chambers. Nicholas and Lucy, his wife, were to have one of these, at their choice, for their lives. The conveyance is endorsed as "by the churchyard." Other deeds, up to 1434, deal with this property, portion of which was acquired by John Reynold, smith, and Thomas Lawless and Henry Nangle, chaplains, respectively. In 1461 it appears by a notary public deed executed in the house of Michael Harrold, butcher, in St. Thomas' street, that Margaret Harrold, widow of the above-named John Reynold, on her death-bed, declared that her husband willed to her for life the house which they had bought in St. Werburgh street, and that after her death it was to be for support of the fabric of St. Werburgh's Church for ever. After his death, she enfeoffed two chaplains (deed dated 1457), on condition of receiving the profits for life, and then it was to go to the proctors of the parish. One of the witnesses to the notary public document was William Bysset, chaplain of St. Katherine's. In 1462 Thomas Walsh and John Morgan, sitting as jurists in the south part of the nave of Holy Trinity Church, Dublin, with Thomas Savage and William Grampey as arbitrators and compromisers, in a case wherein the proctors of St. Werburgh's were plaintiffs, and Thomas Sprott, clerk, defendant, who had entered into possession of these premises, decreed that same belonged to the parishioners, the proceeds to be expended on the fabric of St. Werburgh's Church.

¹ Hugh de Calce, Canon of Cahors, was deputy in Ireland of Raymond Pelegrini, special nuncio of the Pope in this country and in England. A document among the Roman Transcripts (P. R. O. Eng.), v. 246, mentions him as a priest of the diocese of Querey in France, and certifies his having (in 1344) served the Apostolic See for seventeen years in Ireland. De Calce was murdered in 1347.

² In 1411 Nicholas Hardon granted to Thomas Fanyng, "hopere," and Margaret his wife, daughter of grantor, a vacant place in St. Werburgh's parish abutting on St. Martin's churchyard.

under John Reynold's will. They silenced Sprott for ever, and he had to give up possession. Another notarial instrument, dated a few days after the preceding, contains particulars of a cause in which the above-named defendant became plaintiff, and the proctors defendants, wherein Sprott asserted that Mrs. Reynold gave the premises to him and his heirs for ever. Nothing valid was shown on Sprott's behalf, and the house was decreed to St. Werburgh's for ever. The arbitrators commended his repairs, and allowed him to remain in the house rent free up to Michaelmas.

In 1454 the proctors of St. Werburgh's let for forty years to Geoffrey Calfe and William Brown, chaplains, a waste place, north of the church, between the church door on the south and the house of St. Mary del Dam on the north. The chaplains covenanted that they would build a chamber of oak, covered with oak wood boards, and keep same in repair.

There was a stone house or great place, with two cellars and a garden, of which in 1482, Sir Adam Gare (or Gary), chaplain, enfeofed Sir Thomas Laundey and Sir Ellis Feld. The premises adjoined the south wall of the city by the Polegate, in the west part of St. Werburgh street, and the feoffees were to hold to the use of Dame Maude Plunket for life, and on her death, to the use of Eliz. Talbot, her daughter, and her heirs. Should she die without heirs, then to the use of St. Werburgh's Church for ever, to find a priest to sing at our Lady's altar there, for the souls of William Boxseworth and Margaret Boxseworth, and Dame Maude Plunket, and all their generation. In the event of the death of Sir Thomas and Sir Ellis, a feoffment was to be made to two other honest priests, one to be chosen by the Plunket family and the other by the proctors of St. Werburgh's, "and so from priest to priest, when needful." In the endorsement, the document is said to be a declaration of a will, and the testator was probably the husband of Dame Plunket. The house was subsequently occupied by one Eustace and by Lady Hibbott, but at what periods respectively is not stated.

The next set of deeds deals with a chamber and another one above it, over the churchyard door, which were let from time to time by the proctors and churchwardens. In 1547 they leased the premises that adjoined the church to Sir Patrick Dongan, chaplain, and in the same year they leased a chamber over the churchyard door to John Dempsey, baker. In 1588 Robert Bee, goldsmith, had a lease of this as "a house on the south side of the church door, with a small room over the entry going into the church." In 1598, in a lease to Walter Locke, baker, the premises were described as a small chamber over the churchyard door, "containing" to the west window of the Mary chapel. The lessee undertook not to blemish or hurt the

light of the wester window in the south side of the church, next said chamber, and to keep the under room of the chamber as a way to the churchyard, and not to hinder the passage thereof. In 1651 a lease was made to John Kennedy, executor of Captain William Meares, of a house on the south side of the church door, with a small room or entry going to the church, bounded on the north to the church ground, on the east to the church walls, west to the street, and south to the west end of the south wall of the church. This deed is endorsed : " The Watch House, Werburgh street." In the seventeenth century the main guard of the city was located at the south side of St. Werburgh's Church, and its station was afterwards used as a watch house. This lease was surrendered, and in 1666 a new one was made to George Kennedy, son of a former lessee, which in turn was surrendered in 1716 by Mary Kennedy, widow, to the Rev. Theophilus Bolton. The document is endorsed : " adjoining to or part of the present schoolhouse." Other premises were taken in as an addition to St. Werburgh's schools ; in 1671 Anne Hoyle, by her will, devised to her brother, Joachim, her interest in premises in Leventhorpe's Alley, off Werburgh street, which subsequently devolved on George Dowdall, as representative of his wife, Sarah, formerly Hoyle. He granted them to Daniel Cooke in 1708, and on the documents are endorsed assignments to Richard Walsh (1712), and in 1714 to Rev. Dr. Synge and the churchwardens. This last conveyance is stated to be for the use of the charity school of St. Werburgh's parish.

Another document that deals with adjoining premises is dated 1669, and by it the churchwardens of St. Werburgh's leased to Robert Turner, innholder, a room or chamber in his possession over the passage leading from the street in the west to the churchyard, which room joined the church wall on the north. He had liberty to enlarge the room forwards to the street over the door and forepart of said passage, provided he did not alter or injure the frontice ornament over the door joining to the street. There was also included a small parcel of ground next within the churchyard door on the south, adjoining his house, with a view to said Turner's clearing and preventing the nuisance in the churchyard. In 1674, in consideration of a surrender and of his rebuilding the sides and front of the door and entry leading from the street to the churchyard, the churchwardens again leased the premises to Turner, the new lease having a clause which provided that if he happened to build in the yard, he might rest the timber and also build upon the churchyard wall next to his yard. Turner was not to interfere with the carrying of corpses into the churchyard, and he was to permit and maintain the passage of the " waterfall " from the churchyard through the demised piece

of ground. In 1715 Turner's representatives surrendered the premises to the churchwardens.

There were a chamber and cellar on the north side of the church which, in 1547, the churchwardens leased to Nicholas Stanyhurst, notary. They had already (in 1534) granted to him a house, with small garden, on the south side of one that stood on ground belonging to Christ Church. Stanyhurst undertook to build a wall of stone and lime, a man's height, under the south side of the house. This grant is endorsed: "garden west the church."

Another item of property in St. Werburgh's street which the proctors had power to lease, was a messuage with a garden in which James Ryan had dwelt. These, together with an orchard lying south of a house wherein Walter Lock, baker, lived, they leased in 1605 to Gerald Younge, alderman. He paid a fine of £35 "good Elizabeth silver of England" towards the building of St. Werburgh's Church, "then down and ruinous."

Ralph Leventhorpe,¹ in 1637, leased to Richard Edwards, tailor, a moiety of an orchard adjoining the great house in which James Ryan dwelt, bounded by the stone wall adjoining Sir James Ware's garden² on the east, to the churchyard wall of St. Werburgh's on the west, which had been in possession of Henry Cheshire. The churchwardens also held a parcel of ground which was part of St. Martin's Lane, adjoining the north side of the chancel of the church. This in 1676 they leased to Eliz. Newcomen, widow.

CASTLE STREET (SOUTH SIDE)

Geoffrey del Yvet³ (*cir.* 1243) granted to Helyas Burel, land in Castle street, between that of Guy of Cornwall⁴ and Gilbert del Yvet's land, which he bequeathed to the house of All Saints.⁵ This is endorsed: "Folley's (Foyll's) grove in Castle street;"⁶ the next deed which with certainty can be said to refer to the same premises

¹ Ralph Leventhorpe was M.P. for Ennis in 1639. He lived in what was known as Leventhorpe's Alley, subsequently named Gun Alley. It lay due south of St. Werburgh's schoolhouse, and was so-called from an inn, the sign of which was a gun.

² Sir James Ware's house stood on part of Austin's Lane, extending from the south side of Castle street to Ship street.

³ Geoffrey del Yvet (or de Lyvet) was provost of Dublin 1269-70; Gilbert del Yvet was mayor 1233-7. He granted to Holy Trinity Church the land on which his stone hall, without the King's Gate, was built. He and his wife, Sibella, were buried in Holy Trinity Church.

⁴ Guy of Cornwall was provost of Dublin in 1229-30.

⁵ The Register of All Hallows contains a grant for 40 years from the Prior and Convent (1349-50) to William Foil, merchant, of a place in Castle street.

⁶ The Foyle family lived in St. Werburgh's parish, and many of its members were buried in the church.

is more than two hundred years later, being dated in 1454 : by this the proctors leased to Robert Foyll, and John Gonet, fisherman, free ingress and egress by the cemetery of St. Werburgh's church, from Foyll's house there close to the cemetery, on the north up to his orchard on the east, and from said orchard up to said house, together with a rain watercourse running or arising in the cemetery from the foundations of said house. This is also endorsed as an indenture of "Folley's (Foyll's) grove in Castle street."¹ In the same year Robert Foyll leased to John Jonet, fisherman,² a messuage in Castle street, and leaden furnace weighing 18 stone, together with an orchard appertaining to the messuage, lying between All Saints' land on the east and land of John Corryngham, clerk, on the west ; St. Werburgh's cemetery on the south and the street on the north. Other conveyances in which the cemetery was a boundary are the following :—A garden between the King's Castle on the east, St. Werburgh's cemetery on the west, and land of the house of All Saints, north and south, which was leased in 1495 by the proctors to John Moore, tailor. Also a house, garden and small lane, called St. Martin's Lane, adjoining the church on the north ; the house lay on the south side of Castle street, bounding east to the city ground, west to St. Mary's Abbey ground, and south to the churchyard. These premises were leased in 1543 by the proctors to John Ellis, goldsmith.

There was still another tenement in the south side of Castle street which the proctors dealt with. It had a garden, and bounded from a messuage formerly All Saints' on the east to a messuage of St. Mary's Abbey on the west, and from the stone wall of the churchyard on the south to the street on the north. This was ruinous in 1576, and was granted to John Durning, gent, in that year. One acre and a half of arable land by Dolphin's Barn in the tenement of Kilmainham were included in the lease. The representatives of Durning afterwards released their interest in the premises to Richard Edwards. In 1600, the proctors granted them in reversion to Henry Thomas, while, in consideration of £16 towards rebuilding the "decayed" church of St. Werburgh, they let in further reversion to John Lany and Nicholas Howard in the year 1614. An endorsement of 1730 on the document of 1576 states it to be a "deed of Sir Richard Carney's holding, now Colonel Godby's, of Mr. El. Dobson's house³ and Mr. O'Bryan's house."

¹ Wills of William Foyle (1348) and John Foyle (1380) are among the Christ Church Deeds, and a deed of 1478 mentions Thomas Foyll's orchard, in connexion with a messuage on the south side of St. Werburgh's Church.

² Christ Church, Deed No. 950, is a duplicate of this.

³ In the reign of King James the Second, the Stationers' Arms, Castle street, was the residence of Eliphaz Dobson, bookseller and publisher.

CASTLE STREET (NORTH)

The earliest surviving grant of land on this side of the street appears to be one of 1316, made by Margery, who was wife of William de Callan,¹ to Stephen de Mora.² In the same year Alexander, son of Reginald de Kihnaynan released to Stephen de Mora, this waste land, which Stephen had of the feoffment of Margery, daughter of John Hayde.

In 1324 Richard, son of Robert de Bristoll demised to Adam Burnell, two shops in Castle street, between the tenement of the Hospital of St. John and that of Stephen de Mora ; two years later (in 1326) John, son of Robert de Bristoll, granted to Adam Burnell land with buildings in " Lormeria " (see above), bounded as before.

In 1341, Peter Penrys granted to Thomas Dillon and Elena, his wife, a messuage between that of Agnes Burgh and one that was Adam Burnell's, towards the south, and land of Thomas de Kilmore, clerk, on the north, which had been bequeathed to him by Stephen de Mora. The same Dillon and wife had a lease in 1346 of two shops in Castle street, near their tenement, which provided that should they construct a hall in place of the shops, it was to be lawful for them to enter without interruption. In the same year they had a grant from William Hirdman and Mariota, his wife, of a messuage in Lormery, between Dillon's tenement and that of St. John's House, east and west, and from the street in the south to the tenement of Thomas de Kilmore in the north. This last is endorsed as being " Evidences concerning Ryan's house in Castle street."

A house was let to John Ryan by the proctors in 1543, which must be that mentioned in the above-named endorsement. It extended from the street to Kent's ground and from St. John's ground on the west to St. Werburgh's ground on the east. In the same lease was included an orchard adjoining Cow Lane³ on the east. In the same year, they leased to David Roche a garden between the street and Cow Lane, leading to Cork Hill on the north, which was bounded on the east by ground of St. Mary's Abbey. In 1604 the proctors again leased, to Sir John Tirrell, knight, this garden (already demised to John Miller), which was then described as extending from the street to Sir Geoffrey Fenton's land⁴ and

¹ The name of the de Callan family was Sampson. William Sampson de Callan was witness in a deed (1303-4) in the Register of All Hallows.

² Stephen de Mora was bailiff of Dublin in 1320-1, and later. He held a tenement in Thomas street.

³ A passage extending from Castle Street North to Fishamble Street was called Cow Lane.

⁴ Father-in-law of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. The land had been the site of the church of St. Mary del Dam, and on it the Earl erected Cork House.

Cow Lane; and Sir John Tirrell covenanted to build on the garden. Miller's interest had come to Captain William Meares. This lease is endorsed: "46 Castle Street, Rt. Lodge."

A principal messuage in Castle street was long known as Corryngnam's Inns. In 1373 it had belonged to John Allesley, but in 1410 a deed mentions it as being then the dwelling place of John Corryngnam, which it continued to be up to 1444. In 1463 part of the inns, known as the "chamber in the bawne," and consisting of a chamber, with a "soler" beneath it, was leased by Martin Brown, chaplain, and William Corryngnam, son of Hugh Corryngnam, to John Bennet. In the same year the parties leased the remaining portion of the premises to John Tany. In 1466 William Corryngnam granted in fee to Richard Leyns, advocate, Walter Baldewyn, William Cornell, armourer, and Nicholas Fitzleones, the said premises; while in 1479, by grant from Walter Baldewyn and William Cornell, Corryngnam's Inns came into possession of the proctors of St. Werburgh's Church.

The chamber with soler, though originally part of the one dwelling, was still held separately, as in 1482 Robert Dowdall and Genet, his wife, let them during her life to the proctors. The premises are described as having been "called old Corryngnam his Inns, in which Henry Fitz Rowe now dwells." The loft and cellar are mentioned in a lease of 1488 as being held by Dame Genet Sueterby for life, and on her death they were to become the property of the church. By this lease the proctors let a half-yndell¹ of the Inns to Thomas Galmole, *alias* Archbold, and in 1500 the half-yndell, in which George Scurligge and Joan Fewrell were then resident, was leased to them for 50 years. Subsequently Scurligge made over his term to John Waffyr, and in the same year the other half-yndell was leased to Walter Colman.

In 1582 the Inns, described as being bounded by the street and Kent's land, south and north, and east and west by St. Michael's land and St. Werburgh's church land, were leased for 61 years to Richard Edwards; and in 1600 the proctors let them to George Guiere for 61 years from the expiration of Edward's lease.

In 1614, in consideration of £42 9s. 5d. paid towards the building of the church, they leased to John Lang and Nicholas Howard "Corrigan's Inns house," with garden, late in tenure of William Barnewall, and then of the widow of Ralph Mellinge, for 61 years from the end of a previous term made in 1552. A lease in reversion was made in 1620 to Henry Cheshire, goldsmith, and in 1626 the reversion of an assignment by Susan Cheshire, widow, was granted

¹ The half part (*A. S.*).

to Stephen Ussher. An endorsement of a document in 1629 calls this "Feld's house in Castle Street now in possession of Steven Busher" (*recte* Ussher). Finally, the churchwardens leased, in 1675, to John Bysse, Lord Chief Baron, in consideration of £10 paid towards repair of the church, "Corrigan's Inns, now known by the sign of the Castle." In this document part of the London Tavern is given as bounding the Inns on the east.

There are many documents dealing with the "messuage next Corryngham's Inns," as it is described in a deed of 1405. It stood to the west of the Inns, and the earliest of the grants is one in fee dated 1373, of a messuage and two shops, from Henry Ferroure to John White, clerk, in which its boundaries are specified as the street on the south to waste land of Mariota Bolas on the north; waste land of St. John's House on the west to John Allesley's messuage (afterwards Corryngham's Inns) on the east. In 1380 White granted to Robert de Loundres, and in 1385 the latter granted to John Passavaunt and others for the term of his life, and two years later they quit-claimed to him. In 1400 Robert de Loundres is found granting the same premises to John de la Ryver in fee, which grant was quit-claimed. In 1402 they were again granted by him to Robert Hothum and Walter Reske, chaplains. Between this and 1407 are some deeds dealing with the place. In 1410 John Herdman released to John Hothum and Walter Reske, chaplains, the same premises, and for the first time John Corryngham is named as dwelling in the house on the east, previously Allesley's. More than a hundred years elapse before another document dealing with the house next the Inns is met with, and in this interval the proctors of St. Werburgh's appear to have come into possession of it. In 1515 they leased the tenement and appurtenances to Thomas Money, a mason.

SKINNERS' ROW (*Vicus Pellipariorum*)

The documents connected with the property of St. Werburgh's Church in this street date between 1346 and 1470. It consisted of a messuage with the appurtenances, extending from the street on the north to the lane behind St. Nicholas' Church, called Sutors' (or Shoemakers') street, on the south, and in 1346-7, when Thomas Faucon released the premises, which he had from William, son of Roger de Kildare, to Stephen Spark, chaplain; the eastern and western boundaries were land of All Saints and land of John Passavant.¹

The documents next in order are a release from Richard

¹ John Passavant was mayor of Dublin in 1369-71 and in 1388-9.

Harborgh, skinner, and Agnes Holme, his wife, to Thomas Spark, chaplain, and quit-claim from him to Philip Kendyrgane in 1397. In 1398 Kendyrgane made a grant to Thomas Clane, and in 1415 Clane made one to Walter Reske and John Champeney, chaplains. In 1432 Clane leased to Nicholas Priour, goldsmith, and in 1442 Priour released the premises to Walter Molghane, corviser, who again, in 1465, granted to John Sprot and Thomas Laundey, chaplains.

Soon after, these chaplains made a deed which provided that if Patrick Halgane, corviser, gave Molghan's wife a sufficiency of food and drink, with free ingress and egress to said chamber and the "necessary" of the messuage, Patrick might hold the premises for ever.

A deed of 1470 from Laundey to Richard Herford, John Mestaylle and Robert Boys, chaplains, is endorsed: "Davy Roche's house in the Skynner Rewe," and in 1543 the proctors of St. Werburgh's Church leased to him the premises which in 1514 had been demised by Margaret Allegan to James Eustace.

In addition to the above, the proctors held a garden in Leighlin Lane, Oxmantown, parish of St. Michan's, bounded on three sides by land of St. Mary's Abbey. This, in 1546, they leased to Philip Swetman. In 1598 they leased it to Richard Longe, and in this lease the place is described as having been lately in the tenure of Richard Donagh, deceased. In 1640 Longe's interest having come to Richard Edwards, tailor, he made it over to the churchwardens, who then granted him the garden for 60 years. In 1668 they gave to Richard Carney¹ twenty-two years of the lease yet to run. In 1730 an endorsement mentions the premises as being held by Mr. Moland.

In the lease of Leighlin Lane, 1598, are included three meses or houses in Swords, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres arable land in the fields of said town, and pasture. In 1730 an endorsement states these to be Lord Chief Baron Bysse's or Lord Molesworth's.

The few remaining documents in the collection include the following:—

Grant by David, abbot, and the convent *de Valle Salutis* (Baltinglas), to John Swyfte, William Rydelsford, William Hont, Clement White, Thomas Lyard, and Walter Rowe, of all the messuages, lands, tenements, &c., and the mill which they have in

¹ One of the Heralds; afterwards Sir Richard Carney, Ulster King of Arms, 1683–1692.

the vill of Newhose (Newhouse, *alias* Ballynure), and all emoluments belonging to the chapel of same ; also sufficient firewood from the groves of said monastery, for the hearth of said John, &c. They also granted wood for building and repairing houses . . . two porthoses,¹ a psalter, missal, &c., during a certain term . . . at a rent of twelve pence. This bears date *cir.* 1412-14.

A notary public deed, much decayed and injured by damp, (John Flemyng, clerk, Dublin, notary), dated 20 March, 1463, made in the castle of Elton, by which Laurence Shynagh alleges on oath that he never enfeoffed anyone in Elton, Newton, Chiltoneston . . . of Naas, or granted any charter in fee simple or tail to Richard Fitz Eustace, knight ; also that he never contracted matrimony with Katherine Nashe, and that Margery Burgeys is his true wife. Sir John Dawe, Vicar of Killussy, is one of the witnesses.

A form of plenary absolution, the parties to which are Brother Nicholas of Retio of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Saxo de Urbe ; William Harrold, merchant, and Elizabeth Dawe, his wife. It is dated February, 1477, and the document is much injured.

A document relating to indulgences for forty days in St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin, dated 22 May, 1517.

The Testament of Margaret Drewry of the parish of St. Nicholas, dated 18 September, 1511. She desired to be buried in St. Nicholas' Church, to which she bequeathed a cup to be converted into a chalice. She left the residue of all her messuages and lands to the priest at St. Mary's Altar therein, to celebrate ; and the proctors were to pay 2*s.* 8*d.* which was to be divided equally among the churches of Dublin. A linen cloth and towel were left to St. Werburgh's Church. This document is endorsed : "the lands of Doneshauglen," and as a cousin, Margaret Water, was devised 3½ acres arable and 1½ of moor in a place which in the original is blank ; the locality must have been Dunshaughlin.

CHAPLAINS

1346-8.	Sir Thomas Hamund [Ch. Ch. Deed, 633].
1349.	Sir Robert Gowys.
"	John de Carletone.
1350.	Stephen Dexeestre.
c. 1406-10.	Robert Sutton (Canon of St. Patrick's).
1434.	Thomas Laweles.
"	Henry Nangle.
1478.	Adam Gare (or Gary).

¹ A portable breviary ; *porthors* (*portare foras*)—the book that the priest carried abroad.

PROCTORS AND CHURCHWARDENS

1454-5. }	John Vale, William Cornell.
1461-2. }	
1479-80.	Patrick Burnell, Patrick Grot.
1483-4.	same, Philip Brentwood.
1488-9.	same, same.
1490-1.	Walter Baldewyn, Nicholas Laweles.
1495-6.	Thomas Ashe, James Clynton.
1500-1.	Christopher Cornell, Richard Wydon.
1507-8.	Thomas Ashe, Richard Dugyn.
1515-16.	Philip White, Roland Ferris.
1534.	William Kelly, John Elys.
1541.	Nicholas Stanyhurst, same.
1546.	William Lyon, Richard Edwards.
(Hen. VIII.)	David Loche, John Hircote.
(5 Ed. VI.)	John Ryan, Richard Bruges.
1552.	John Ellys, John Dempsey.
1605.	John Lang, Nicholas Howard.
1615.	Michael Philpott, Walter Dermott.
1637.	Ralph Leventhorpe, Richard Edwards.
1669.	Richard Young, George Stoughton.
1675.	Jonathan Northeast, George Southwick.
1676.	Thomas Speght, Robert Turner (afterwards, William Hartley in room of Thomas Speght).

PREHISTORIC REMAINS (FORTS AND DOLMENS)
IN BURREN AND ITS SOUTH WESTERN
BORDER, CO. CLARE

PART XII : NORTH WESTERN PART

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WITH the present paper I close the series¹ of twelve published in these pages during twenty-three years. The field work on which they are based was begun over thirty-six years ago, in May 1878. Though no trained antiquary is likely to deny the utility of such a work, there is sore need of apology for certain imperfections in its execution, patent even to a casual reader. When it was commenced I had no exemplar to follow ; I had to learn what to do as the work proceeded. Matters at first little regarded proved important and called for insertion and further research. Forts and dolmens in that wilderness of crags and thickets are sometimes undistinguishable from rock ledges and boulders ; often the most definite guide to a dolmen is the square patch of dark shadow in its open end. In some cases bushes of hawthorn, sloe and hazel² covered features, so that two flights of steps in Cahereuttine and two in Caherminaun, gateways in Roughane and the " cairn-caher " and the terrace of the Cashlaun Gar, were at first concealed from me. Thus supplemental matter had constantly to be added, destroying the consistency of the survey while increasing its value.

Theory, as a by-product to be constantly fused and recast, is of less moment. I have constantly altered my views, and hope no one may suppose that the theories in this conclusion even purport to be " final." Finality is impossible in our present ignorance ; scientific excavation, or critical examination to fix the dates of our

¹ Vol. xxi, p. 462 ; vol. xxii, p. 191 ; vol. xxiii, p. 231, p. 432 ; vol. xxvi, pp. 150, 142, 362 ; vol. xxvii, p. 116 ; vol. xxviii, p. 352 ; vol. xxix, p. 357 ; vol. xxxi, pp. 1, 273 ; vol. xxxv, pp. 205, 232 ; vol. xli, p. 343 ; vol. xliii, p. 232.

² Like most matters relating to forts this finds a place in early Irish Literature. " I saw a *liss* topped with trees " (MacConglinne, ed. Meyer, p. 68). " Spiked thorn bushes grow on the site (*sic*, read " side ") of a half ruined *liss*, the weight of a heavy harvest bows them down, hazel nuts of the fairest crops drop from the great trees of the raths " (Guesting of Athirne, from *Book of Leinster*, *Eriu*, vol. vii, p. 3). The last well recalls the coral-like hedges of the forts in the autumn. " An apple tree in every *liss* " (*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 131, circa 1170-97), and other similar allusions.

literary sources has scarcely begun. Still progress is getting marked; the results of European research are no longer unstudied in Ireland, and such theories as attributed all our forts to the Fírbolg or the Danes are left to a few belated followers of the older school. Nevertheless, there is still a prejudice that one who does not hold to his first theories is of no authority, and that one who does not adhere to the older school of 1840 is a lonely schismatic, even when he voices the views of the majority of European antiquaries, while the value of the study of dry fact appeals little to many whom country writers call "great antiquarians."

I keep for the actual conclusion my estimate of the broad results of these surveys of Co. Clare, so I need only note the lines of research. In 1892-93 two groups in eastern Co. Clare were described. From 1895 onward the papers deal with the Barony of Burren and the adjoining parishes of the Baronies of Corcomroe and Inchiquin. If we add the papers in 1908 and 1909 on the promontory forts of the Iorris and the ring forts of Moyarta, and that in 1911 on Cahermurphy and the forts near Milltown-Malbay,¹ we get descriptions of the chief remains of this class in western Co. Clare. If we further add those in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*² on the eastern forts, and those in the *North Munster Archaeological Society's Journal* on the forts near Kilkee,³ and (as I do at the end of this paper) index and methodize it, the whole nearly attains to the dignity of a county survey—more I cannot claim to have done.

I never attempted to form a classification of the ring forts, but hope to do so tentatively at the end of the paper. Theories and classification in other countries do not fit Irish conditions. The English arrangement adopted by the "scheme for recording ancient defensive earthworks and fortified enclosures" is absolutely unsuitable here. By its rules we should bring under one heading the widely divergent forts of Cahercommaun, Cahernakilly, Dundoillroe, and the Cashlaun Gar into Class A. We should have to classify Turlough Hill fort or Moghane differently from Cahercalla in Class B. So also the nomenclature of Great Britain and the Continent is unsuitable: "late Celtic" with them means "very early Celtic" here. The English assertion that while the great hill forts are prehistoric and tribal, the small ones are feudal, is contradicted here equally by our pre-Norman literature and by excavation. The English view separating promontory forts fenced all round from these only de-

¹ Vol. xxxviii, pp. 28, 221, 344.

² Vol. xxvii, pp. 217, 371; vol. xxix, p. 186, and xxxii, p. 38; vol. xxxix, p. 113; vol. xli, pp. 5, 17.

³ Carrigaholt to Loop Head, vol. i, p. 219; vol. ii, pp. 103, 134, 225; Kilkee vol. iii, pp. 38, 153; for some of the Corcomroe forts, see also vol. i, p. 14.

fended at the neck confuses instead of helping us ; since so many of these walled headlands show fences, that we can hardly doubt that most were walled round before the edges and ends fell away.

Racial district types when sought for in Ireland are not discoverable ; all the main types here are found in France, Germany, and Austria, and some also in Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and farthest Russia, in Perm. The two oblong platforms at Bunratty and Culleen are probably Norman ; the rest of the forts of Co. Clare represent no type that does not occur across Europe, from Perm to Kerry, and from the bronze age to late mediaeval times. Where the promontory forts of the Ural mountains and the Atlantic coasts are closely similar, and the great prehistoric "Hausberge" of Central Europe resemble "feudal mote castles," we cannot be sufficiently cautious in laying down dates or tribal rules from external forms of earthworks. Excavation—our best means of dating—is hindered by the expense and by local jealousies, sometimes fostered by those who should know better, or by uninformed persons writing to newspapers.

At the commencement of this survey some (then recognised as "authorities") said that "such an attempt was useless, all had been worked out by O'Donovan and Dunraven." The latter authorities, however, had each only described two types, while out of some 2,200 forts in Co. Clare, only five had been slightly described. So also when commencing a like work on the promontory forts I was told that "nothing was left to be done," when out of at least 106 only two had been adequately described and one inaccurately noted ; of 104 no accurate plans had been made. There is a warning here to that complacent type of person who supposes that all is done for any branch of Irish archaeology.

I may at least claim for these tentative notes, such as a pioneer can offer, that they are a record of what is being rapidly destroyed, and that they have led to wider studies of their field not a few who might never have surveyed it. What a noble field too it proved to be, what a museum of remarkable antiquities, and how full of beauty ; "the pride of the height, the clear heaven with its glorious show !" The forts lie amid the glimmering terraced crags, "a barren and dry land" on the summits, but with underground rivers and silver-laced waterfalls in its glens. From some forts, like Caherdooneerish and Aghaglinny, we look across the sailless sea and seventy miles to either side from the huge domes of Nephin, in Co. Mayo, to Mount Brandon, and to the nearer mountains, the peaks of Bennabeola, in Connemara ; the mote-like Kimalta ; the Galtees and Slieve Mish. Nor is this all—rock-gardens of exquisite flowers, gorgeous cranesbills, creamy mountain avens, ferns and sedums adorn the nooks and shelves of the limestone. Magnificent sheets of colour carpet

it, when the spring-giver "makes it to bloom with flowers like sapphire," and the loveliest of its flowers, blue gentian and violet, sheet the ground, and primrose and foam-white anemone the ledges. There the fissured grey crag, level as a pavement, shelters in its clefts the hartstongue and maidenhair ferns. There the underground stream runs "down to a sunless sea." Amid all this varied loveliness the Corcomroe tribe and the Eoghanacht Ninussa and the forgotten races before them made their homes and monuments, often their only record. From its "pages" these notes are taken, and it is still open to all who choose to revise or expand my copy from its wonderful original.

CAHERMAKERRILA GROUP (Ordnance Survey Map No. 9)

Had I been able to work my survey on consistent lines, this should have been included as part of the Caherma-naughten group, which it adjoins; but by accident of means of access the two are practically cut off from each other, and I always found it more easy to reach the former forts from Corofin and the latter from Lisdoon-varna. From that spa-town we go eastward, crossing the river valley, and seeing on a bold bluff a lofty mound—a reputed "fairy hill."

LISSATEEAUN, *Lis an tsidheán*, the fairy fort, lies in a townland called Gowlaun, from the "fork" (Gabhal) of the stream. It is a mote-like mound, shaped out of the natural bluff, but raised and rounded so as to form a high flat-topped platform sufficiently imposing as seen from the road bridge to the east. A shallow fosse runs round it on the side of the plateau in a semicircle. There are no other mounds or hut sites, nor is it easy to fix its actual height, as it runs into the natural slopes. The summit lies about 400 feet above the sea.

Its resemblance to a burial mound may have helped its reputation as a *sidh*, but it very probably was, if not in origin, at least in use, a true *lis* or residential fort, as its name implies. *Sidheán* in Co. Clare living usage, by the way, implies rather a passing gust or whirl of wind in which the fairies travel. It is a prophylactic usage to bow or take off your hat as the gust reaches you.¹ The fort is reputed to give its name to the Castle of Lisdoon-varna, "the fortified fort of the gap." The gap is the river gully, and the levelled ring wall at the head of the slope to the north is Caherbarna.

The mossy court walls sheeted with polypodium alone mark Lisdoon-varna Castle, long the residence of the Lysaghts (Gillisachta) and the Staepooles. In the same townland, turning eastward, we

¹ *Folk Lore* ("Survey of Clare"), vol. xxi, p. 198.

pass the foundations of a *cathair* on a conspicuous green knoll. The road cuts through another levelled ring wall in BALLYGASTELL. Nearly opposite to the south of the road are a *killeen* graveyard for children, and some old enclosures. Farther on in BALLYCONNOE is a small house ring, its wall coarsely built, and now barely a yard high, on a knoll of crag. Near it, roads run northward towards Toomaghera (or "Toovarra") chapel, and south-eastward (a bad, but ancient, road) along a green shale ridge, past a heap of fallen masonry, once Binroe Castle, to Cahermacnaughten. A rich marshy tract, as so often, runs from the foot of the ridge as far as the shale covers the limestone. The further reaches of the road run on to Noughaval southward, and through Kilcorney valley eastward, past Caherconnell and the Cragballyconoal forts and dolmens, past Poulaphuca dolmen, down a steep descent into the Turlough valley, on to Corcomroe Abbey, being evidently one of the ancient thoroughfares of Corcomroe.

We have imperceptibly reached a considerable height above the sea, which is visible, both westward, beyond the high round castle of Doonegore, at the north end of the cliffs of Moher, and southward, in Liscannor Bay. Turning from the Toomaghera road into the craggy fields we enter the townland of Cahermakerrilla. Beyond it lies the other large townland of Cahermaan.

The names of these lands (so far as I am aware) first appear as *Cathair lapain* and *Cathair medhain* in the O'Brien rental, usually dated 1390.¹ No other record is known to me till two centuries later, when we find "Kahirlappan" in the Fiants of 1583,² then a deed of settlement of Turlough O'Brien of Dough (Dumhach) Castle at the close of Elizabeth's reign, in 1602, names "Karrowmickerill *alias* Caherlappane." The inquisition on the death of Donat, "the Great Earl" of Thomond, has "Cahervickarrelaw *and* Caher laffan." Turlough O'Brien's inquisition, taken (after his death, August 1st, 1623) in 1627, recites the above settlement, by which he conveyed "Cahermakerrilla and Ballyloppane" to his son Daniel O'Brien, who was born 1579, and was a most kind protector to some of the dispossessed English settlers in 1642. Finally, I need only mention the Down Surveys, 1655, with "Karrowm^{er}kerell *or* Carrowlupane."³

There was probably a name group (such as occurs elsewhere) with the various prefixes: Bally (townland), Carrow (quarter), and Caher (fort), and the compounds *mac Irilla* or *lapane*. I may remind my readers that this place should be carefully distinguished from the

¹ Hardiman Deeds, *Trans. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xv (sect. c.), pp. 38, 42.

² *Fiants of Elizabeth* (App. Report, Dep. Keeper Records, Ir., No. xv), Nos. 4,263, 4,274.

³ *Inquisitions, P. R. O. I.*, and *Book of Distribution and Survey*, Co. Clare.

great fort and townland in Carran parish.¹ The first is locally pronounced Cahermäkerry-lä, the other, Cahermacnole. These forts are called respectively Cahermakerrila and Cahermackirilla on the ordnance maps, but the Carran name is unwarranted by the best records and by local usage.

The Carran fort name is possibly miscopied in the Hardiman copy of the O'Brien Rental, where it is *Cathair meic iguil* (? iruil). It is possibly the Cahervikellie of the Fiants, 1583,² and appears as Cahermacknoull in the inquisition of Morogh O'Cashyn, 1623, and Cahermacconnela in the above cited inquisition, 1627. In 1754, in the will of Dr. Michael Moran (of the family living at Willbrook in later years) we find the same form : "I leave my brother, Connor Moran, my part of the farm of Mohermollan and £6 to be paid him yearly during my interest in the farm of Cahirmacnoul and Knockaskeaghine,"³ with reversion to the testator's sons, Patrick and Austin. Lastly, I need only cite Monck Mason's Survey, where (along with a list of clergy under the heading of "natural curiosities") appears "Cahermacconela."⁴ Revision is certainly badly needed in scores of names on the Ordnance Survey maps. Strange to say, in the opening centuries of our era, a Gaulish potter stamped his name, *Macirilla*, on his fragile wares,⁵ which have survived so many wrecks of empires, and may survive others.

The anonymous form, "Irial's son," seems old, recalling such names as the local saints (Findclu) inghean Baoith, of Killinaboy, or (Sinnach) mac Dara, of Oughtdarra, also such names as Ardmhicchonail (named with Ardehonail in the section of the *Book of Rights*, circa A.D. 1000, among the king of Munster's nominal residences in Thomond in this district) and perhaps Cahermacconnell and Caherconnell.⁶

Cahermakerrila was called after a local family, a branch of the Corcamodruadh (O'Connor and O'Loughlin) tribe, called *Slicht Irriell*, from some ancestor, who bore the name Irial, which occurs in the tribal descents from the 14th century down. In 1396, Irial ua Lochlain, son of Rossa, Lord of Coreunruadh, was killed by treachery, in revenge for Maelshechlainn ua Lochlain, whom he had previously slain.⁷ As the "mac Irilla" form of the fort name does not appear in 1390 it is possible that it originated from some son of this chief about 1430 or later. Of course this does not prove that the founder lived so late; forts are commonly called after their later occupants, as in Co. Kerry.

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 363.

² *Fiants of Elizabeth*, Nos. 4263, 4274.

³ A fine fort described, *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 365.

⁴ *Parochial Survey*, vol. iii, p. 287.

⁵ *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiii, p. 317.

⁶ *Leabhar na gceart* (ed. O'Donovan). pp. 87, 91.

⁷ *Annals of Ulster*,

The "Sleyht Iryell" held lands in Gragans barony (Burren) in 1586, and joined in the "Composition of title" between Sir John Perrot and the Clare gentry. In 1591, Irial son of Rossa (an interesting repetition of the ancestral name two centuries earlier)¹ and others of the posterity of Mealaghlin O'Loughlin, of Ballyvaughan and Benroe (Binroe) Castle, made an agreement with Donat, the fourth Earl of Thomond, on the lines of one made by their predecessors with the Earl's great grandfather, Conor, before 1540. They undertook not to mortgage or sell (even) a sod of land, or any castle, without Donat's consent, and to submit to his decision, subject, in certain cases, to the arbitration of Boetius MacClanchy, John, son of Tornea O'Maelconary, and Owen O'Daly.² A copy of the deed remained with MacClanchy (the chief brehon), and is found among the MacCurtin MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy.

The later history of the place tells us but little of moment. Piers Creagh, of Limerick City and Adare, was transplanted by the Cromwellians to Burren, about 1655. The family traditions are valueless; there is nothing to show that the Creaghs were O'Neills;³ they are called "Russell, *alias* Creuagh, of Adare," in the late 13th and 14th centuries.⁴ There is nothing whatever to support the tale that the O'Quins exchanged these lands for Adare with the Creaghs. Myth centres equally round the Quins and Creaghs of the latter village. From the rich callows and oak woods of the Maigue the family was brought to the bare uplands of Burren, and later we find them in the goodlier heritage at the old chief castle of the Mac Namaras at Dangan ivirgin near Tulla, where their representatives are still found. In 1664 Piers was confirmed under the Act of Settlement in "Cahermakerrila or Caherlappane," and other lands; I know of no later mention of the older *alias*-name.

As to names of forts with personal compounds in Co. Clare much of interest could be written. Leaving out the mythic Fearbolg Irgus, whose name is connected with Caherdooneerish, at the beginning of our era we have Lismacain near Magh Adhair, named from Macan, slain in the raid of king Flann to the latter place in 877.⁵ Caher-

¹ *Fiants of Elizabeth*, No. 4761.

² Frost, *Hist. and Topog. of Co. Clare*, p. 20, also p. 303.

³ Save the assertion on the 19th century inscription in Ennis Abbey founded on a baseless Elizabethan conversation on the arms in Limerick Cathedral. MSS., Trinity College, Dublin, E 3, 16. See *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 46. In usual genealogical logic the carved panels dated 1460, *therefore* the modern inscription was about 1640, and *proved* events in the 13th century.

⁴ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxv (sect. c.), p. 376; vol. xxvi, p. 164. In the *List of Mayors of Limerick* (though untrustworthy) in the 13th century we find, in 1216, J. Russell, *alias* Creagh (M); 1263, John Russell *alias* Creaghe; 1312, John Creagh, of Adare.

⁵ *Book of Ui Maine*. Mr. R. Twigge gave me the extract. See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxxii, p. 60. Macan was the first person slain at the *siege* of Magh Adhair.

commuam is possibly called after Comàn king of the Corcamodruidh, whose son died in 702, and Duntorpa from Torptha, another king of the tribe in 750. Grianan Lachtna, near Killaloe, is most probably called after the early chief Lachtna (whose "camp" was on the slope of Cragliath above the Borhaime Ford¹ at the raid of king Felimídh of Cashel, about 840) rather than from the later king, uncle of king Brian. We have met many such names in Co. Clare, Cahermacclanchy, Caherhurley, Cahermurchadha, Cahershaughnessy, Cahermacnaughten, Cahermacrusheen, Cahermacrea, Lismehan, Lissoffin (Lios Aedha fionn) and others.

THE FORTS.—In the field next to the road we first note a low mossy ring of filling, a house site, 27 feet inside. The foundations are 10 to 12 feet thick. It lies 30 feet from the south wall of the field,

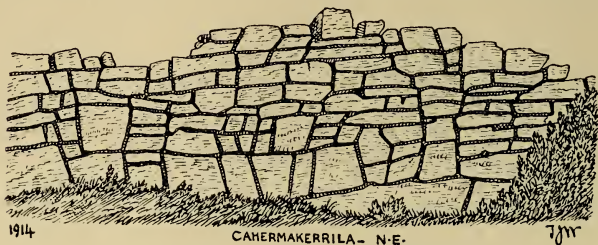


FIG. 1. CAHERMAKERRILA, NORTH-EAST

North from it on a flat low knoll are parallel rows of slabs, three about 4 feet square, lying north and south. I cannot suggest their purpose. About 70 feet eastward from the house ring is a second one, 386 feet westward from the great *calthair*. It has a wall of large oblong blocks, now rarely a yard high, 3 feet thick and 24 feet across inside. At the north-east part of its garth is a well-built sunken and circular cell, of smaller stones, and 6 feet inside, with a door to the west, the jambs 2 feet thick; thence runs a curved passage, 12 feet long and 3 to 4 feet wide, running under the outer wall at its north point. The souterrain was probably enclosed in a wooden or clay house with a stone fence or even basement.²

CAHERMAKERRILA is a ring wall of very fine regular masonry, the lower part of large blocks, the upper of regular thin slabs, laid

¹ *Book of Munster* (MSS., R. I. Acad., 23 E, 26, p. 39). See *Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 192. *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxix, p. 196.

² Such small house rings, like satellites, about the chief fort, are named in our *Annals* (e.g., F. M.) 1014: "The *dun* and the houses outside the *dun*." As to souterrains, the Orvar odd saga (Baring Gould, *Deserts of France*, vol. i, p. 200) tells how such were found by the Norse, in Ireland, with women hiding in them, their entrances hidden by bushes. Some fine souterrains near Tuam are described by Dr. T. B. Costello (*Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 109, and later.)



CAHERMAKERRILA, NEAR LISDOONVARNA



CAHERDOONEERISH. INTERIOR

as headers and closely fitted.¹ It is nearly circular, 96 feet across the garth, 115 feet over all. The frequent occurrence of small masonry in the upper part of the ring walls explains how it is that we so often find well preserved stone forts, with even tops, 5 to 6 feet high, the garth level with the summit, and no debris; the small upper stones were easily removed for other purposes. The base courses here are 2 feet 8 inches to 3 feet thick, the 10 or 11 upper ones usually from 4 to 8 inches thick; the batter is very well laid, usually 1 in 7, but at the north-east part, where the wall is 11 feet high, it falls into the slight, characteristic S-curve owing to settlement. In the north-east section of the garth are two early hut enclosures, one circular

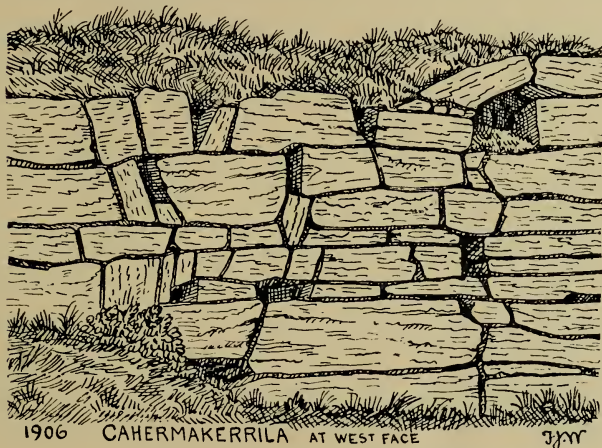


FIG. 2. CAHERMAKERRILA, AT WEST FACE

the other slightly oval. The gateway faces the south-south-east and is 4 feet 8 inches (or if a loose slab be its jamb, 4 feet) wide. A long slab (too short to be a main lintel, but perhaps a relieving block) is 4 feet 7 inches long by 17 inches by 7 inches, and lies against the jamb. An old oblong house abuts against the south-east section, two later ruined cabins to the south-west, and a little stone-roofed cell for goats or sheep to the east. On this side, wherever a facing block is removed, we can see that the inner filling is full of bleached and crumbled bones of animals; but whether these were built into the wall originally or slipped there in late times I cannot decide; I never saw bones elsewhere in the substance of a rampart. (Plate IV, fig. 1).

¹ Some of it is nearly as fine as Cahermurphy (*Journal*, vol. xli, p. 129) or certain Kerry forts.

A featureless bawn lies near St. Colman's Well; this well is not in any fort.

HOUSE RING.—About a quarter of a mile to the east of the *cathair* is a little house ring, about 60 feet over all, and, as usual, reduced to about 3 feet high. The wall is rarely over 6 feet thick, of large blocks, with no filling. It may have been a bawn for protection against wolves, for "the grey beast" was common in these wilds, and its name appears at Knockaunvieteera¹ (contrasted with Knockaunawaddera, or "dog's ridge") near Lisdoonvarna, and at many other places, called "Breffy" (Bregagh).²

CAHERMAAN.—*Cathair meadhoin*, first named in 1390,³ is identified on the new maps with an insignificant house ring, nameless in 1839. O'Donovan names it in that year as "Cathair meadhoin—i.e., the middle caher, a *large* fort in the townland of the same name."⁴ Evidently the real Cahermaan is the large cathair, 130 feet across, and nearly levelled, beside the laneway not far to the north-east of the house ring. All the facing is gone, and it is a mere low ring of grassy filling, rarely a couple of feet high. Its name evidently alludes to its position, midway between Cahermakerrila and Caher-macnaughten. Old people told me that the townland name was not attached to either of the forts in their time, so the Ordnance Survey too probably secured the identification by leading questions. The titular Cahermaan is barely 60 feet over all, 3 to 4 feet high, of rough slabs. The wall may be 7 feet thick, but the interior, like that of the previous little house ring, is full of rich soil and is cultivated.

WELL.—Before turning from these townlands, I may note that the Ordnance Survey Letters, quoted correctly by Mr. James Frost, do not state that the Well of St. Colman was in the fort; but some have taken "Cahermakerrila" to mean the cathair and not (as it does) the townland.⁵ Most of the wells I have seen in forts are merely flooded souterrains, as—e.g., Glasha and Ballymacloon.⁶ When Tulla church and its double-ringed enclosure were blockaded in 1086, the defenders were nearly reduced by thirst till the abbot,

¹ A swampy plateau covered with heath, pinguicula and sundew. I speak with reserve, for there was a Macotire family, "Maurice Macotere living at the end of the world in Ireland," 1290 (*C. D. I.*, vol. i, p. 306), and the fort Cahermacateer in Co. Clare is called Cahermactere in 1666, and Cahermacdirrig in 1675. However, the contrasted name seems to decide the question for Knockaunvieteera.

² "Breffy" is found at Lisdoonvarna, Miltown Malbay, Kilkee, and several places in Clonderlaw. Wolf remains are very rare in the Co. Clare caves, though bears are common.

³ *O'Brien's Rental*.

⁴ *Ord. Survey Letters, Co. Clare*, vol. i, pp. 221, 222.

⁵ See Frost, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 355; *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvii, p. 377.

after a vision of St. Mochulla, found a spring under a boulder in the sacred edifice.¹ Mr. Orpen has noted a well in the mote of Castleknock, Co. Dublin. Streams occur beside several promontory forts, as Dun Fiachrach, Dunamo, Bonafahy, and Dunallia in Co. Mayo; Ballingarry, in Co. Kerry; Dunlecky and Dundahlin in Co. Clare, and many in Co. Cork—Dunkelly, Dunlough (Three Castle Head), Downeen, Dunsorske, Dunpoer, Ballytrasna, and Dooneemnacotter. One spring is known to me beside a ring fort in Co. Clare and not in a fosse—that in the abattis of Ballykinvarga.

CAHERMACCRUSHEEN (Ordnance Survey Map No. 8)

There is a fine oval cathair² near the fallen dolmen in *Cathair mhic croisin*, the townland bearing its name. It lies on an abrupt green knoll ending in a wall-like cliff, at the crown of the old road from Doolin northward. It looks up a glen along the straight line of inland cliffs running from it to Ballinalacken, over which peel tower rises the pink heathery dome of Knockauns Mountain. A slight rise to the north shuts off from it the beautiful view seen from its neighbour, Cahermaclanchy. It was one of the finest forts in the district till, unfortunately, vandals used it for a quarry, though stone abounded everywhere around. Nearly every one of the useless field walls near it show its fine blocks, to the disgrace of the wanton destroyer, whoever he may have been.

The rampart is 9 feet thick, and is still 6 to 9 feet high, the garth being 6 feet above the field. The gate faces the east-south-east, it is 4 feet 9 inches wide, with coursed jambs and a pillar stone at its left inner corner. The garth is 117 feet east and west, and 144 feet north and south, or 135 feet and 162 feet over all. Only two courses of large, nearly square, blocks remain of the outer face. Inside are several irregular enclosures, a house site, a strange little slab cist, hardly 2 feet wide, and a long "traverse" wall running north and south.

CRAGGICORRADAN (Ordnance Survey Map No. 8)

The long marshy ridge (which falls abruptly beside Ballinalacken Castle and overlooks beyond it the bushy crags and rock-gardens of Oughtdarra³ and the expanse of sea to Aran and to Moher cliffs) has

¹ Vita S. Mochullei, *Analecta Bollandiana*, cf. *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 377, also *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii, pp. 107, 110, and *Journal*, xi (1870), p. 95.

² *Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 355.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 342; also *Limerick Field Club*, vol. iii, p. 51. Oughtdarra is reputed to be named from the oratory of St. Sinnach Mac Dara, but the derivation is very doubtful. It is Wafferig in the *Papal Taxation*, 1302; Killagleach and Vetforoiach form the Rectory of Glac, 1419 (*Cal. Papal Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 118); Owghtory (a separate parish from Killilagh) in 1584, and Ughdora in Petty's Map, 1655. None of these suggest the sound "dara," still less "macdara."

two earthworks, of a type very rare in Co. Clare, called the Mote and Lislard.¹ In eastern Clare "mote" is always applied to a low earthwork, and in Oughtdarra to stone forts; here, alone, it applies to a high mound. I incline to the belief that the Mote (with perhaps

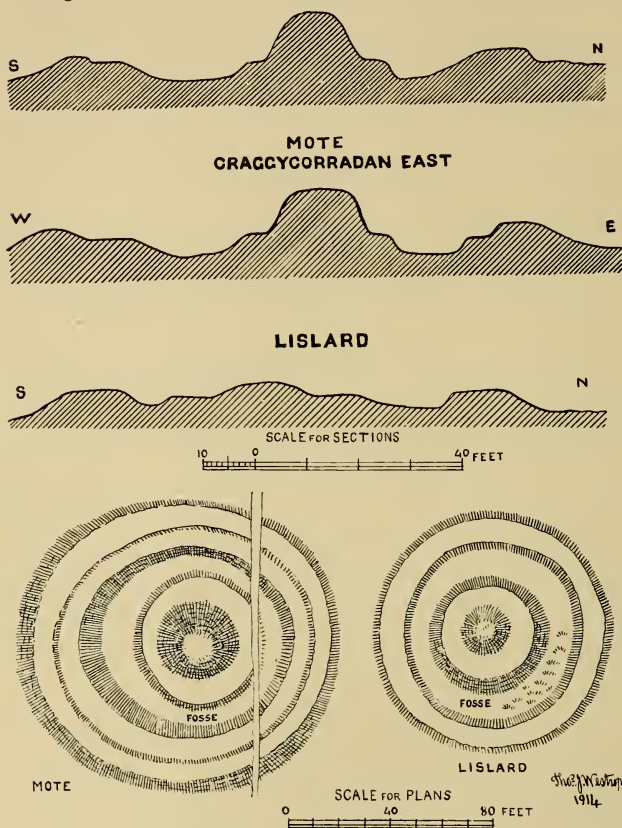


FIG. 3. CRAGGYCORRADAN AND LISLARD

Lislard) is not residential, though it has an outer ring and a fosse. The place was called *Cracc I corradain* in the "1390" rental.

THE MOTE.—At the highest point of the road, at the steep end

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 352.

of the ridge, rises the mote. It has an outer ring 5 feet high to the south, but levelled to hardly a foot high to the north. This is cut through by a field fence to the east, but that segment is otherwise little injured and is in the same field as Lislard. The outer ring is about 84 feet across and is 12 to 18 feet thick. The fosse is 5 to 6 feet deep, and 9 feet wide below, and 15 feet at the field level. The central mound is slightly rounded, about 12 feet high, the same width on top, but 24 feet in diameter at the base; it has a "berm" 3 feet high and 3 to 6 feet wide, round its foot; a similar ledge, 9 feet wide, running inside of the outer ring. It is sheeted with stunted heather and soapwort, and has furze bushes on the ring.

LISLARD.—About 420 feet from the mote, eastward, is another earthwork, called Lislard. The outer ring in parts is 5 feet high and 88 feet over all. The fosse is 9 to 12 feet wide, and rarely 3 feet deep, but wet and rushy to the south-east. The central mound is of two tiers, the base 48 feet in diameter, on its platform is a smaller mound 18 feet across, 6 feet on top and 3 feet high, but defaced by treasure seekers. It may have been a residential fort in which a burial took place, while the mote was probably a sepulchral mound, not being flat-topped.

KNOCKAUNS MOUNTAIN (Ordnance Survey Map No. 4)

Eastward from Caherduff fort,¹ about a mile and a quarter away, lies a curious group of ring walls, seeming, with one exception, to be late and decadent. They lie on that ancient road from Ballinalacken to Faunaroosca, where it joins the steep zigzag laneway from St. Columkille's Church at Crumlin,² rising past the nearly levelled rectangular *cathair* on its rock ledge. To the east lies the shale dome of Knockauns. On its broad limestone base, rising 220 feet above them, and 976 feet above the sea, lie several forts. They command, like Caherduff, the whole Killonaghan Valley and the bluff Black Head, looking westward across the waves to the Connemara Peaks and Slyne Head.

The old roads are worth noting; the main one runs from Caher-macrusheen past Oughtdarra. Beyond Knockauns Mountain, it runs northward, past Faunaroosca round castle and Ballyelly forts³ over the mountain. It dips into the Caher Valley, near

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 351. My photograph of this interesting fort is published in Dr. A. Guébbard's very helpful monograph on European ring forts (*Congrès préhistorique*, iii, Antun), p. 1007.

² Local legend assigns the little oratory with its round-headed east and south lights to St. Columba, and the rock *Lecknanevee* on which he landed after leaving Aran is shown on the shore below. His other church in a ring fort in Glencolumkille is described, *supra*, vol. xliii, p. 250.

³ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 10.

Formoyle, and runs up past Caheranardurrish, down through the Feenagh Valley, past the great forts of Caherfeenagh and Caherlis-macsheedy¹ to Glenarraga, opposite the Ballyallaban forts. It then runs round the mountains past Lough Rask, Muckinish Castles, Bealachugga Creek, and Corcomroe Abbey, up to the Carker Pass into Co. Galway. By it, apparently, the Siol Muiredaigh, in 1094, invaded the Corcamodruadh.² The latter, under Tadhg, son of Ruadri ua Chonchobhair, checked them at Fiodnagh (Feenagh) in a desperate but drawn battle, and they were glad to retire, both sides having lost heavily. Readers of the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* will remember the appearance of the odious banshee Bronach to Prince Donchad and his army at Loch Rasga, and the fierce "Battle of the Abbey" in 1317, as well as the ambushade in which king Conchobhair Ruadh ua Briain fell in the wood of Siudaine near Muckinish in 1267.³

LISCOONERA.—A small ring wall stands on the edge of the bluff, very like Caherduff, save for its poor late-looking masonry and irregular plan. It has a very flat curve to the south-west, then an abrupt turn, nearly an angle, as at Caherdooneerish. Much was levelled when two cottages were built in its garth, but the north-west segment was kept for shelter. The wall had two faces and large coarse filling. The inner face is of small "stretchers," the outer of larger slabs. It is 7 to 8 feet high, bulged and irregular in its lines.

CAHERMOYLE.—A large fort, indifferently called Cahermoyale and Cahermore, lies about 300 yards from the last, about 770 feet above the sea. It is evidently the chief and oldest fort of the group, being of fine masonry and on the choicest site, overlooking a shallow grassy hollow, invaluable for keeping cattle under its occupants' eyes, but hidden from the rest of the plateau. The fort is circular: its wall, 7 to 8 feet thick, of large, regular courses, and still over 5 feet high, with a batter of 1 in 7. Only three courses remain to north and west, and there is little or no debris, so that evidently all the smaller stonework was removed for road making. It measures 122 feet over all and about 105 feet inside; there are no house sites.

CAIRNS.—A low heap of stones lies in Derreen West, just beyond the road, and 755 feet above the sea; west from it is another low grassy mound of earth and stones, also probably sepulchral.

BAWN.—A late enclosure lies about 700 feet from the last and the

¹ *Journal*, pp. 275-6.

² *Annals of Tighernach, Ulster* (1094), *Chronicon Scotorum* (1090), *Four Masters and Loch Cé* (1094). The *Four Masters* give under 1084 a raid of the Connacht men into Thomond, when "they burned *duns* and churches and took away spoils."

³ *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh*. See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 292-3.

same distance from Cahermoyle. It was probably a late cattle-pen, being poorly built of long blocks with field-stone filling. It has no describable plan, and is about 42 feet across at the widest point. The wall is in parts 5 feet high, and rarely over 4 feet thick; it resembles some of the 17th century enclosures near Leamaueagh Castle.

CAHERBEG.—The southern end of the grassy depression is guarded by a well-built little ring wall, about 300 yards from Cahermoyle on a slightly rising crag. It is correctly shown as a fort in the 1839 map, but not in the later survey. It is regularly oval, 70 feet across east and west, 86 feet north and south, and is built of large shapely

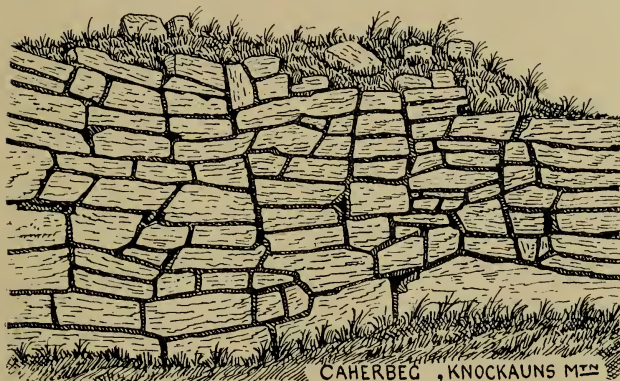


FIG. 4. CAHERBEG, MASONRY

blocks, with many upright joints, like the masonry of Cahercloggaun; the inner face, as usual, is of far smaller stones, and but little remains. The wall is 6 to 7 feet thick, 9 feet high to the north, and 5 to 6 feet elsewhere, save where it is nearly levelled to the south. The gateway faces the latter point, but only its west pier remains. Several walls cross the garth.

Three more ring walls, now nearly levelled, lie eastward near the new road. One is in Derreen South (a long townland named from a long destroyed little oak wood),¹ another in Knockauns Mountain; both are low rings of mossy stones, the third is barely traceable. A more substantial one, but reduced to a heap, stands on a low crag, beside another grassy hollow suitable for cattle.

¹ What remained of the Cathair of Craggagh (a large ring fort between Lisecoonera and Killonaghan church) was being carted away for road metal in May, 1914. It had, however, long ago been defaced, as a house adjoined it and is sharing its fate.

Most of these little flimsy "Mohers" and "Cahers" are probably late bawns, degenerate representatives of the great ring walls of Ireland, Britain and the Continent. They are, however, far superior to the "pounds" and "bull parks." Even these last are called "Caher" and "Moher." "It was my father built these Cahers" said a little boy proudly to me at Doolin.

The upland of Elva has no forts, and was doubtless once a vast "booley"¹ where cattle were sent to feed in summer. The herds could easily be driven near the forts in cases of sudden alarm.

The new road runs across the boggy upland with deep gullies and runnels, rich in water-loving plants. At the crown of the ridge we overlook Munster for 70 miles to the blue peaks of Corcaguiny, out to Mount Brandon and back to the Galtees and the Silvermines. Hills in five out of the six Munster counties are visible, and Connemara is behind us. Thence the steep road runs past the ancient church and curious well, holy tree and pillar stone of Kilmoon, past Knockatecaun back to Lisdoonvarna.

CAHERDOONEERISH (Ordnance Survey Map No. 1)

The fort of Irgus,² a contemporary of Queen Medb, is on the summit of Black Head, about 650 feet above the sea. It is locally called Dunirias and Caherdooneerish.³ I revisited this fine upland fort with Dr. Hugh G. Westropp in 1914, getting an unusually clear view to Mount Nephin and the Curlew Hills 60 to 70 miles northward. Some treasure-seeker had cleared out the gate, which I was able to plan. It is 2 feet 9 inches wide; its lintel, measuring 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet by 9 inches lies before it; the piers are 6 feet deep, then the wall sets back to the north for 6 feet to what was either a ramp or flight of steps, as the terrace remains, being 5 feet high. Farther on is another slope beyond which the terrace is only 2 feet high: it is 3 feet 7 inches wide. The outer section of the wall is 6 feet higher

¹ It has not, however, got the numerous "booley" names so notable on Mount Callan.

² *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 7. Black Head is the Mons Niger of certain early Portolan maps; "m. negri" in the Upsal map, 1450; "m. neig" in Agnesi's map, 1516; "montes negros" in Voltius, 1593, and "Niger mons" in the curious late map, "Hybernia seu Irland," which combines Ptolemy, the Portolans and the late Elizabethan maps. It is Doinhooft in the *Zee Atlas* of Jacob Aertoz, 1668, but this is transferred to Hags Head in Jansson's Atlas, Amsterdam, 1661, and *Le Neptune François*, 1693, which rightly name Black Head Can Brayne or Can Borayne—i.e., Ceann Boirne.

³ Not Caherdoonfergus as on the maps. This was an obsession of O'Donovan, who was at the time seeking for traces of Fergus mac Roigh in Burren. Dr. Mac Namara and I got the forms Dunirias, Dooneerish and Caherdooneerish before I noticed that the mythic Irgus was connected with Black Head or Ceann Boirne in the poem of Mac Liac.

(10 feet outside to the north, 13 feet high south from the gate) ; it is 6 feet 3 inches thick on top, with no batter, but bowed out in parts. The terrace can be traced all round. There are no hut sites in the garth or round the fort outside. (Plate IV, fig. 2).

HOUSE RING.—Close beside the new road, and south from the long wall running down the western flank of the bluff, are two ruined cottages. Between them is a curious little oval house ring, shown on the 1839 map—not on the new one. It is of large blocks rising about 4 feet over the field, and is about 30 feet north and south, and 33 feet across ; it is full of rich earth, and overgrown with brambles and hawthorns, covered with flowers : it was unusually full of birds on our visit.

CAHERDOONTEIGUSHA.—This fort¹ stands on a low knoll beside the new road and under the old road round Black Head. Just behind it rises an ivied rock terrace, and its walls are pierced and nearly hidden by the knotted ivy. A cottage has cut into the north-west flank, and the garth is cultivated. In face of all this, I had passed it by in 1885 and 1895 without recognising its character, despite the guidance of a map. What can be seen of the wall shows it to have been of large good masonry, with packing of round field stones. The inner face is everywhere gone ; the wall was about 10 feet thick, and, though gapped here and there, is for the most part from 5 to over 6 feet high. The highest reach, next the road, is so ivy-capped that I could not measure it. The fort is oval, about 125 feet north-west and south-east, and 100 feet in the other axis, over all. The name, and even the fact of its being a cathair, seems forgotten. It has a fine view of the Aran Isles.

AGHAGLINNY (Ordnance Survey Map No. 2)

Ascending the old zigzag horse track behind Gleninagh peel tower and church, leading over the mountain to Feenagh, and now rarely used, we reach the summit to the west of the pass, in Aghaglinny South. There I was amazed to find a large earthen fort on the bare crags. One recalled the legend of the Firbolg serfs in Greece, toiling up the bare hills with their bags of earth. Who conceived the idea of such a fort, if fort it were ? The most gigantic *cathair* could have been raised more easily there from the loose slabs. I hardly venture to suggest that it was a temple ;² the gods could repay such a work, but for human ends it was labour lost. A stone wall had been a better shelter and defence than it. Perhaps it was for some

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 7.

² I have ventured to suggest this view for discussion, not for assertion, in these pages, vol. xl, p. 291. Turlough Hill fort and Ballydonohan, with, perhaps, Creevagh near Tullycommaun, may be also ceremonial or religious structures.

ceremonial purpose, like the mound of Magh Adhair or the great marsh-carn of Carnconnachtach, probably the inauguration place of the Corcamodruadh. If so, was it where the Eoghanacht chiefs were installed ? (Plate V, fig. 1).

Leaving these unanswerable speculations, we turn to facts. The fort rests on the bald summit of the hill, 1,045 feet above the sea. It overlooks nearly all Galway Bay, with its shores and the Aran Isles, the nearer of which look strangely near from our lofty standpoint. The "fort" is a long oval platform of earth 6 to 10 feet high and exactly twice as long as wide, being 246 feet east and west, and 123 feet north and south. It is revetted with a facing of dry stone for the most part thrown down by the pressure of the earth.

The carn of Doughbranneen is seen lower down, but Caherdooneerish is hidden below the cliff. Descending into the wide valley towards Feenagh we reach in a lonely, utterly secluded spot, a fine ring wall, lying south-east from the summit. It is 240 feet inside and 260 feet over all, an unusual size in this district. The wall is of large blocks, well fitted, and usually from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet long and high : it is from 6 to 7 feet high and 10 feet thick, rarely less than 5 feet ; the batter varies from 1 in $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 in 7. The gateway faces the south (by compass), its passage is 7 feet wide, but the ope is defaced. There are traces of enclosures in the garth, but I could get no general view, as on my visit in 1906, the whole was filled with most luxuriant meadow-sweet in full flower, and often 4 feet high. The fine crescent fort of Lismacsheedy, already described in this series of articles,¹ lies at the end of this valley. I am now able to give an illustration of it (Plate V, fig. 2.)

(To be continued.)

¹ *Journal* vol. xxxi, p. 275.



CATHAIR, AGHAGLINNY



LISMACSHEEDY

PROCEEDINGS

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, the 26TH of JANUARY, 1915, at 5 o'clock, p.m. COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

Past President :—John Ribton Garstin, D.L.

Vice-Presidents :—E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., F. Elrington Ball, LITT.D., John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A., The Right Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D., T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Fellows :—H. F. Berry, I.S.O., LITT.D., G. D. Burtchaell, LL.B., James Coleman, S. A. O. FitzPatrick, T. G. H. Green, M.R.I.A., P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., Professor R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A., Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*, T. J. Mellon, F.R.I.B.A., P. J. O'Reilly, G. W. Place, Andrew Robinson, M.V.O., Rev. J. L. Robinson, B.A., Andrew Roycroft, William Cotter Stubbs, M.A., John F. Weldrick.

Members :—Miss Anna Barton, Joseph Bewley, Mrs. Betham, W. F. Butler, M.A., F. W. Callaghan, Miss M. Carolan, William Chamney, Henry S. Crawford, M.R.I.A., William J. Dargan, M.D., P. J. Griffith, William B. Joyce, Rev. Canon H. W. Lett, M.A., Mrs. Long, Colonel J. K. Millner, James H. F. Nixon, F.R.G.S., J.P., R. B. Sayers, Richard Blair White.

Associate Members :—W. G. Gogan, A. R. Montgomery, Rev. Canon G. D. Scott, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Associate Members were elected :—

FELLOWS

Fuller, James Franklin, F.S.A., 51 Eglinton Road, Donnybrook : proposed by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *Fellow*.

Lamb, Miss M. Antonia, 5900 Elmwood Avenue, Philadelphia, U.S.A. : proposed by Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

White, Henry Bantry, M.A., Ballinguile, Donnybrook (*Member*, 1911) : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Gogan, W. G., 55 Madras Place, Dublin : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

McCance, Stoupe, 3 Markham Square, Chelsea, London, S.W. : proposed by John S. Crone, L.R.C.P.I., *Member*.

Maxwell, Miss Ionia F.F., Knockalton, Nenagh : proposed by J. M. Galwey Foley, *Member*.

Miller, Alfred, Royal College of Surgeons, 123 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Munro, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Rector of Glencolumkille, Co. Donegal :
 proposed by John H. Tibbs, *Member*.
 Stokes, Frederick, 7 Sydenham Road, Dundrum : proposed by John
 Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1914

The Report of the Council for 1914 was read and adopted as follows :—

The meetings of the year 1914 were carried out according to the programme adopted at the beginning of the year, and the attendance was generally good. The Summer Meeting at Dublin on the 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th of June, was held under conditions which contributed greatly to its success. Private owners and persons in official positions afforded liberal facilities for examining the places visited, and generous hospitality was received on each day of the excursions. The Council has expressed the thanks of the Society to the large number of persons by whom these favours were conferred. The *Conversazione*, which, by kind permission of the Right Hon. T. W. Russell, P.C., M.P., Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, was held in the National Museum, was graciously honoured by the presence of their Excellencies the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen. The *Conversazione* and the Society's Dinner were very successful.

The province of Ulster being next in rotation for the Society's Summer visit, the Council recommends that the Summer Meeting for 1915 be held at Londonderry in the early part of July, and that the programme of meetings for 1915 be as follows :—

PLACE	DATE	REMARKS
Dublin . .	Tuesday, Jan. 26†.	Annual Meeting* and Evening Meeting for Papers
„ . .	„ Feb. 23†.	Evening Meeting for Papers
„ . .	„ Mar. 30†.	„ „
„ . .	„ April 27†.	Quarterly Meeting*
Londonderry	July 5-10	Summer Meeting* and Annual Excursion
Dublin . .	„ Sept. 28†.	Quarterly Meeting*
„ . .	„ Dec. 14 .	Evening Meeting for Business under Rule 22, and for Papers

* Railway Return Tickets at a single fare and a third may be obtained.

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6 15 p.m.

Ten Meetings of the Council were held before the end of the year, and the attendances were as follows :—

COUNT PLUNKETT, <i>President</i>	8	JOHN COOKE	10
JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, <i>Past President</i>	3	G. D. BURTCHAELL	4
ROBERT COCHRANE, <i>Past President</i>	5	T. G. H. GREEN	8
F. ELRLINGTON BALL, <i>Vice-President</i>	4	S. A. O. FITZPATRICK	9
T. J. WESTROPP, <i>Vice-Pres.</i>	6	R. A. S. MACALISTER	6
THE RIGHT HON. M. F. COX, <i>Vice-President</i>	3	THE HON. MR. JUSTICE BARTON	0
E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, <i>Hon. Gen. Sec.</i>	8	W. F. BUTLER	4
CHARLES MCNEILL, <i>Hon. Gen. Sec.</i>	10	E. MACDOWEL COSGRAVE	1
HENRY J. STOKES, <i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	4	RICHARD LANE JOYNT	1
LORD WALTER FITZGERALD	8	LUCAS WHITE KING	5
		T. J. MELLON	4
		SIR J. R. O'CONNELL	5
		P. J. O'REILLY	7
		H. F. BERRY	6
		W. COTTER STUBBS	6

There are five vacancies in the office of Vice-President, of which four are caused by a statutory retirement in each province, and one by death. The resignation of Mr. H. J. Stokes leaving the position of Honorary Treasurer vacant, the Council nominate Mr. H. Bantry White, M.A., M.A.I., I.S.O., for that position in accordance with Rule 19. It is not proposed at present to nominate an Honorary General Secretary in place of Mr. Armstrong.

Seven vacancies occur in the Council through the statutory retirement of the four senior members, and insufficient attendance on the part of three other members.

Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, one of our Hon. General Secretaries, has been promoted to the position of Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum, rendered vacant early in the year by the much-to-be-regretted retirement of our Hon. Fellow, Mr. George Coffey, through ill-health. In consequence of the increased work and responsibility thus thrown upon him, Mr. Armstrong has notified to the Council his desire to resign the post of Joint Hon. Secretary, which he has held since 1909.

Mr. Henry J. Stokes, who has been Hon. Treasurer since 1903, has also tendered his resignation of that office in consequence of the present condition of his health. The Council, feeling that in the circumstances these gentlemen could not reasonably be asked to

retain their posts, has accepted their resignations with much regret, and it desires here to express its grateful sense of the valuable services which each of them has rendered to the Council and the Society.

The several vacancies having been duly declared in accordance with Rule 22, the following nominations have been received :—

AS PRESIDENT :—

COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

AS VICE-PRESIDENTS :—

FOR LEINSTER	..	LORD WALTER FITZGERALD, M.R.I.A.
”	”	.. JOHN COOKE, M.A., M.R.I.A.
” ULSTER	..	WILLIAM GRAY, M.R.I.A.
” MUNSTER	..	SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.
		F.S.A.
” CONNACHT	..	E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

AS HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY :—

CHARLES McNEILL.

AS HONORARY TREASURER :—

HENRY BANTRY WHITE, M.A., M.A.I., I.S.O.

AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—

F. J. BIGGER, M.R.I.A., Fellow.
 JAMES COLEMAN, Fellow.
 T. P. LEFANU, C.B., Member.
 P. J. LYNCH, M.R.I.A., Fellow.
 G. W. PLACE, Fellow.
 REV. J. L. ROBINSON, M.A., Fellow.
 HERBERT WOOD, B.A., Member.

No nominations having been received in excess of the number of vacancies in the several offices, the persons named above are to be declared elected.

During the year 6 Members were advanced to the rank of Fellow ; 9 Fellows and 42 Associate Members were elected. The resignations of 1 Fellow, 28 Members and Associate Members were received.

Under Rule 11, one Fellow and 15 Members were removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscriptions. The number of deaths notified was 34, and several prominent persons were included.

OBITUARY NOTICES

MR. HENRY ALEXANDER COSGRAVE, M.A., who died on the 1st January, 1914, was elected a Member of the Society in 1890. He was the eldest son of William Cosgrave of Corrstown, Co. Dublin, Solicitor; graduated in Trinity College as Junior Moderator in Classics in 1872, and was awarded the Aesthetic Silver Medal of the University Philosophical Society. For thirty-four years he was connected with the Vice-Chancellor's (afterwards Mr. Justice Barton's) Court—first as Assistant Chief Clerk, and afterwards as Chief Clerk. He contributed a paper on "The Irish Channel and Dublin in 1735" to Volume XXIX. of the *Journal*.

MR. ROBERT DAY, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., who became a Member of this Society so far back as the year 1863, and a Fellow in 1888, being Vice-President 1887-97, 1900-03, and 1911-14, died at his residence, Myrtle Hill House, Cork, on the 10th of July, 1914, aged nearly seventy-nine years. He was mainly instrumental in founding the Cork Archaeological Society, of which he acted as President for a number of years. Mr. Day was widely recognised as a zealous and intelligent collector of Irish antiquities, and the museum that he formed at his own house was rich in gold ornaments, in specimens from the stone, iron and bronze ages, and in medals and insignia of the Volunteer movement of 1782. To his energy it is due that many objects of considerable value and interest have been preserved for posterity. His collection was sold in London last year, and realised a large sum. The Royal Irish Academy and the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, secured for the nation many valuable and unique specimens at the sale. Mr. Day published a large number of papers in the *Cork Archaeological Journal*, including articles on spear heads, coins, chalices, medals, flags and guidons, poesy rings, Cork pewter, as well as on Huguenot settlers in Youghal, and on English goldsmiths and their marks. He wrote for our *Journal* papers on Irish glass ornaments, war trumpets, bronze antiquities, Cork maces, Cork silver, bronze brooches, and on some Cork chalices. A bibliography of Mr. Day's contributions to the *Journals* of both societies will be found in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, July-September, 1914, pp. 110-113. Mr. Day also contributed to *Notes and Queries*, to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, and the *Ex Libris Journal*. He performed some excellent work in editing, in conjunction with Dr. W. A. Copinger, of Manchester, Smith's *History of Cork*, which was brought out by the

Cork Archaeological Society. His notes, many of them expanded from MS. annotations of Crofton Croker and Richard Caulfield, are of great value. Mr. Day had a remarkable influence in his native County of Cork, where he ever strove earnestly to form public opinion as to the necessity of preserving local remains and finds. His death is greatly regretted, and his loss will be much felt, as it will not be easy to fill the place he so long occupied among his fellow-citizens and throughout Ireland generally as a devoted archaeologist.

The REV. WILLIAM F. FALKINER, M.A., M.R.I.A., Member of the Society (1888), died on the 7th June, 1914. He was a collector, through whose hands various objects of antiquarian value reached different museums. He contributed the following papers to our *Journal*:—"Earthworks at Rathnarrow" (Vol. XXXVI. and "Mural Tablet, Richard Rothe, Mayor of Kilkenny" (Vol. XXXVII.); and was also a contributor to the publications of the Royal Irish Academy. Mr. Falkiner was an accomplished draughtsman, a skilled metal worker, and took a special interest in Irish craftsmanship. He was Hon. Local Secretary for Co. Londonderry, and his death is a loss to the Society.

The REV. JAMES FREDERICK METGE FFRENCH was a member of a family who possessed property in the neighbourhood of New Ross, where his grandfather had been Sovereign. His family was a branch of the well-known Western family represented in the Peerage by Lord ffrench and Lord de Freyne. Canon ffrench was also closely related to the Usshers, Wolfes, Tolers and Metges. He made his final studies at St. Bee's Theological College, and was ordained in 1867 by Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, for the Curacy of Havant, Hants, where he remained till appointed to the Rectory of Clonegal, Co. Carlow, which he held from 1868 to 1907. He enlarged that church by adding a chancel. He was made a Rural Dean, and in 1899 Canon of Clone in Ferns Cathedral, of which he became Treasurer in 1900. He was a member of the Diocesan Council and of the General Synod. Canon ffrench, who had been elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, was more closely identified with our Society, which he joined as a Member in 1876. He became a Fellow in 1889, and was a Vice-President, 1897-1900. He frequently attended the excursions of the Society, at which his great local knowledge and readiness in imparting it made him welcome. In 1886 he read a paper before the Society: "On an Ancient Glass Manufactory at Melitia, Co. Wexford;" this was followed in succeeding years by several other papers on various subjects, as enumerated in the

Index to the *Journal*. His last work, entitled '*Prehistoric Faith and Worship*' (London : D. Nutt & Co.), was favourably noticed in the English and Irish Press. Canon French resided chiefly at his house, Ballyredmond House, Clonegal, but his later years were passed at Greystones, Co. Wicklow. He died on the 20th of March, 1914, at Enniscorthy.

THE MOST REV. MICHAEL FRANCIS HOWLEY, D.D., Archbishop of St. John's, Newfoundland, who died 15th October, 1914, had been a Fellow of our Society since 1901. He was the eighth son of Richard Howley, formerly of Glangoole, Co. Tipperary, and was born in 1843 at St. John's, whither his father had emigrated. Completing his studies at the College of Propaganda in Rome, he obtained his doctorate in divinity, and was ordained priest in 1868. In 1869 he went to Glasgow as secretary to Archbishop Eyre, whom he accompanied to Rome not long afterwards for the Vatican Council. At the conclusion of the Council in 1870 he returned with Dr. Power, bishop of his native diocese, to Newfoundland, and the rest of his life was employed in clerical labours in that colony. In 1885 he was appointed Prefect-Apostolic of St. George's West ; in 1892, having been consecrated Bishop of Amastris *in partibus infidelium*, he was placed in charge of the apostolic vicariate of St. George's ; and in 1895 he succeeded Dr. Power as seventh Bishop of St. John's. When that See was raised to metropolitan dignity in 1904 he became its first Archbishop. He was a vigorous and successful administrator, and particularly attentive to the educational interests of his diocese. Yet amidst the active duties of his position he found time for literary pursuits. He published, among other works, an *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, Boston, 1888 ; a volume of *Poems*, as well as essays on historical subjects contributed to the *Transactions* of the Canadian Royal Society, and other publications. He took a strong interest in our Society, and made a point of calling at its office when he passed through Ireland in the summer of this year.

PATRICK WESTON JOYCE, sometime President of the Society and one of its best known Members, died on the 7th January, 1914, at his home, Barnalee, Rathnines. He was born in 1827 at Ballyorgan, Co. Limerick, in sight of the Ballyhoura Mountains and the Galtees, and, as so often, the impression of the surroundings of his boyhood left its mark on all his after life. In one of his books, *English as we Speak it in Ireland*, he gives us clues to these influences, recollections of the passionate piety of the peasantry in the little thatched, earth-floored chapel, of the rough, but scholarly, hedge schoolmasters, of the dancers for whom (like another Goldsmith) he played on the fife, and of the traditions of the glens and fields.

In 1845 he entered the service of the Commissioners of Education, and worked his way upward to be the Principal of the Training College, Dublin, which post he held till his retirement in 1893. He was also a Commissioner for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. His duties brought him in contact with persons able to help him in his best known life work. His love of folk music also led him among retired places where he collected local names, often very different to the forms on the maps. This bore fruit in what may, probably, be the most permanent of his works: *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*. His treatment of this technical subject was most happy; the broad effects of legend, folk-lore and history cover the dry bones of etymology, and led many into this and like fields of Irish work that might have been repelled by other writers. He took as his mottoes, we may say, the old topographer's lines some five centuries ago: "Let us wander round Erin," and "An increase of the knowledge of holy Erin." However much scientific workers may traverse many of his derivations, based rather on popular forms than on those of the records, they will long continue to use the bulk of his work and to admire the whole. So also the admirable spirit, fair, sympathetic and tolerant, shown in his histories, has won them the favour of persons of widely contrasted opinions all over the world. His *Child's History of Ireland* (1898) was adopted as a text-book in the Roman Catholic schools of Australia and New Zealand and by the Catholic School Board of New York. Over 86,000 copies of it and 70,000 of the *Outlines of the History of Ireland* have been sold. His *Old Celtic Romances* inspired Tennyson in the poem on the "Voyage of Maeldune"; his *Short History of Ireland* (1893), and his more important *Social History of Ireland* (1903) are household words among us. His love of Irish songs and folk music gave our country *Ancient Irish Music* (1882), *Irish Music and Song* (1909), *Irish Peasant Songs in the English Language* (1909). This is no place even for the bibliography of his numerous works, large and small; 24 out of his 30 books were on Ireland. He annotated the *Ballads of Irish Chivalry* by his poet-brother, Dr. Robert Dwyer Joyce, and wrote several manuals of Irish grammar, geography, history, and the study of names. His later more important works, *The Social History* and *Irish Folk Music* are fully noticed in our *Journal*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 78, and Vol. XXXIX., p. 204. The first two parts of the latter are from his own collections commenced in 1847, the last two from those of W. Ford and J. E. Pigot. Dr. Joyce entered Trinity College and obtained the degrees of B.A. 1861, M.A. 1864, and LL.D. in 1870. He married, in 1856, Caroline, daughter of Lieut. John Waters, of Baltinglass, by whom he left issue, three sons (Mr. Weston St. J.

Joyce, author of *Dublin and its Neighbourhood*, being the eldest and two daughters. In the Royal Irish Academy and in our Society but little of his work appeared ; he was eminently a writer of books, and rarely "cast his bread upon the waters" in the less individual publications of societies. In the former institution he was a Member in 1863, and on its Council from 1884 to 1895. We find in the Proceedings only two papers (besides "Changes and Corruptions in Irish Topographical Names," read, but not published)—namely, "The Occurrence of the Number Two in Irish Proper Names," and "Spenser's Irish Rivers," both in Vol. X. In our Society, though a Member from 1865, his work is as little represented ; only in 1900 we find a note on the name of Cabinteely (Vol. XXX., p. 368), and one on "an old Irish Blacksmith's Furnace" (Vol. XXXV., p. 407). He was elected a Fellow and then President in 1906, and his one paper is a quasi-presidential address on the "Lugnaedon Inscription at Inchagoill" (Vol. XXXVI., p. 1). It is to be regretted that it championed the old reading, based on inaccurate drawings and the views of older antiquaries, and so drew forth a refutation as well as unfavourable criticism from several modern antiquaries. Indeed personal examination of the inscribed stone (or its cast, or even of the admirable photograph in Miss Stokes' work on Irish Inscriptions) renders the asserted reading impossible. The loss of such a veteran topographer and antiquary to our Society, over whose destinies he presided for three years, 1906 to 1908, calls for this notice despite the fuller accounts that appeared so abundantly at the time of his death in the newspapers and magazines of Ireland.*

GEORGE ALEXANDER PATRICK KELLY, Hon. Local Secretary for Roscommon since 1893, died 10th April, 1914. He was elected a Member of the Society 1890, Fellow 1894, and was a Member of the Council 1896–1900. To the *Journal* he contributed notes on objects found on a crannog at Cloonglasnynmore, Co. Roscommon (Vol. XXV., p. 180), and on a fortress at Downpatrick Head, Co. Mayo (Vol. XXVIII., p. 273). Educated at Trin. Coll., Dublin, he became B.A. 1867, and M.A. 1870, was called to the Bar 1871, and at the time of his death had been for some years Father of the Connacht Circuit, Senior Crown Prosecutor for Co. Sligo, and a Magistrate for Co. Roscommon.

MR. JAMES MILLS, Deputy-Keeper of the Records in Ireland, who died on the 5th of September, 1914, became a Member of the Society

* The articles in "The Irish Booklover" and "The Irish Monthly" may be consulted.

in 1889, Fellow 1892, Vice-President 1904-7 and 1913-14. A memoir of his life and work will be inserted in the next number of the *Journal*. [See above. p. 1.]

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

In consequence of the changes noted the total Membership which stood at 1012 at the end of 1913 was 984 at the end of 1914, to be distributed as follows :—

Hon. Fellows	.	.	.	.	.	11
Life Fellows	.	.	.	.	.	50
Fellows	.	.	.	.	.	152
Life Members	.	.	.	.	.	49
Members	.	.	.	.	.	653
Associate Members	.	.	.	.	.	69

Lists of persons promoted or elected, of those removed from the Roll under Rule 11, and of those whose deaths have been notified, are appended to this Report.

The issue of the *Gormanston Register*, which it was anticipated, would have been distributed to Fellows during the year, was unavoidably delayed by the illness of both the editors, Mr. Mills and Mr. M. J. McEnery, the late and the present Deputy-Keepers of the Records. The Council is assured that the work will soon be published.

A General Index to the *Journal* for the years 1891-1910 is in a forward state, and it also will be issued shortly. For this Index the Society is indebted to the late General Stubbs, who had collected the material for his own use, and placed it at the disposal of the Society. At the Council's request our Fellow, Mr. William Cotter Stubbs, undertook the very considerable labour of collating, revising, and preparing this Index for publication as an Extra Volume, and has also seen it through the Press.

The Council has had under consideration the preparation of other Extra Volumes, including Topographical and Archaeological Surveys of County Cork, the Minute Books of the Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and a Calendar of Documents from the Bellew Archives. It is desired that these publications, for which the Council is glad to know the assistance of capable editors will be available should be undertaken at an early date, but in view of all the circumstances it is not at present possible to make a more definite announcement respecting them.

Having regard to the instruction of the Annual Meeting, much attention has been given to the matter of providing better accommodation for our library. The practical solution of this question

involves several important considerations of location, caretaking, security, &c., and the Council has not as yet been able to find suitable premises except under conditions entailing an expenditure beyond the present resources of the Society. During the year, however, the existing library has been cleaned, all the books have been removed from the shelves, dusted and replaced, and some progress has been made in re-arranging them. The greater portion of the library consists of Journals of kindred Societies and of other publications, of which many are received unbound. During recent years it has not been possible to allocate a sufficient sum of money for binding, and, consequently, a considerable arrear has accrued. The Council regrets that in present circumstances it cannot hope within any reasonable time to be able to make adequate provision for binding out of the ordinary revenues of the Society.

Steps are being taken to provide a catalogue of all the books in the Society's possession ; but this will require the expenditure of some time and labour.

In addition to the publications received in exchange for the *Journal*, the following works have been presented to the Library :—

The Irish Justiciary Roll, 1305–7. Edited by James Mills, I.S.O., Fellow.

Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland. 1 to 12 Edward IV. Edited by H. F. Berry, M.A., Fellow.

History of the Diocese of St. Asaph. By Ven. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, M.A., Hon. Fellow.

Handbook to Christ Church Cathedral. By Rev. John Lubbock Robinson, M.A., Fellow.

Irish Seal Matrices and Seals. By E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., Hon. General Secretary.

The Antiquity of Man in Ireland. By W. J. Knowles, Fellow.

The Town Wall Fortifications of Ireland. By J. S. Fleming, Member.

The Diocese of Emly. By Rev. St. John D. Seymour, B.D., Member.

Irish Witchcraft and Demonology. By the same Author.

The Leofric Collectar and the Psalter of Ricemarch have been received from the Henry Bradshaw Society, to which the Society subscribes.

As is known to all Fellows and Members, the important collection of Irish and other antiquities formed by the Society in the early days of its existence is now deposited on loan in the National Museum. No catalogue of these interesting antiquities has ever been issued, and the Council has felt that such a catalogue should

be taken in hands. Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong has been asked and has generously consented to make a complete catalogue of the Irish portion of the collection. This will be eventually printed either in the *Journal* or as a separate publication according to the decision which the Council may arrive at.

The Council regrets to have to report a considerable decrease in the income of the Society during the past year. The receipts from fees and subscriptions were £520 10s. 0d., and from rents, interest and miscellaneous receipts £132 12s. 4d., amounting to £653 2s. 4d., and showing decreases of £62 10s. 0d. and £44 3s. 1d. respectively under the two heads specified; in the latter case the difference is due in the main to the fact that in 1913 the receipts from sales of back numbers of the *Journal* offered at a reduced price were exceptionally large, and also to direct investment of interest this year on the Society's holdings in Government Consolidated Stock. The amount so held at the end of the year was with the invested interest £1,125 3s. 10d., represented by two sums—namely, £719 9s. 0d. invested in the names of Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., and the late E. P. Wright, M.D., and £406 14s. 10d. invested in the names of Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., the late E. P. Wright, M.D., and the late J. Digges LaTouche, LL.D. Dr. Cochrane, the surviving trustee, has transferred these sums to the Society, which now holds them as a corporation under the provisions of the Charter. The accounts, when audited, will be submitted to the Society in the usual way.

Members transferred to the rank of Fellow, and of Fellows and Associate Members elected in 1914 —

FELLOWS

Atkinson, George, A.R.H.A., 97 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

Bolton, R. Denne, Rath-na-Seer, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

Burke, Myles J., Lisbrien, Gort, Co. Galway.

Fayle, Edwin, Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar (*Member*, 1904).

Fletcher, Lionel L., Tupwood, Caterham.

Green, T.G.H., M.R.I.A., Lisnagar, Temple Gardens, Dublin (*Member*, 1900).

Hartley, Frank Reynolds, May Lodge, Bridlington.

King, Lucas White, C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., Roebuck Hall, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1890).

Lane-Poole, Stanley, M.A., LITT.D., Donganstown Castle, Wicklow (*Member*, 1911).

McNeill, Charles, 19 Warrington Place, Dublin (*Member*, 1890).

McSweeney, Major Gilbert, 12 Cranley Place, London, S.W.

- Magennis, William, M.A., Herbert Street, Dublin.
 Paul, Theophilus P. N., B.A., Head Master, Presidency High School,
 Indon, Central India.
 Robinson, Rev. John Lubbock, B.A., 36 Northumberland Road,
 Dublin (*Member*, 1911).
 Tarleton, Capt. John W. T., The Abbey, Killeigh, King's Co.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

- Agnew, Charles Stewart, B.E., 2 Fairfield Park, Rathgar, Dublin.
 Adeney, Miss, Burnham, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 Alton, Mrs. J. Poë, Elim, Grosvenor Road, Dublin.
 Bagenal, Philip H., 17 Clarence Drive, Harrogate, Yorkshire.
 Barton, Miss Emma, 12 Brighton Road, Rathgar, Dublin.
 Colohan, Dr John, Grand Hotel, Malahide, Co. Dublin.
 FitzGerald, Mrs. Annie, 13 Raglan Road, Dublin.
 FitzGerald, Wilfrid, 13 Raglan Road, Dublin.
 Garty, John, Clerk of Works, Inch Abbey, Downpatrick.
 Geoghegan, Miss, 4 Ulster Villas, Sandycove Avenue, E., Kingstown.
 Griffith, John W., Greenane, Temple Road, Rathmines.
 Gwynn, Miss Madeline, Redcourt, Clontarf, Dublin.
 Gwynn, Miss Sheila, Redcourt, Clontarf, Dublin.
 Harding, Henry Edward, 5 Maryville Terrace, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 Hemphill, Miss G., 11 Ely Place, Dublin.
 Hemphill, Miss Mary E. C., 11 Ely Place, Dublin.
 Hutchinson, Thomas Lewis, Mullingar.
 Hutton, Miss Margaret, 17 Appian Way, Dublin.
 Hyslop, Miss, 17 Hume Street, Dublin.
 Kennedy, Rev. Canon, D.D., The Rectory, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 Lardner, Miss A., 43 Mespil Road, Dublin.
 Law, Miss, 8 De Vesci Terrace, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 MacEgan, The, Queen's Hotel, Dalkey.
 McGrath, Denis Joseph, 2 Cross Avenue, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 McTier, Miss E., 14 Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin.
 Malley, Herbert O., Chetwynd, Herbert Road, Bray.
 Montgomery, Alexander Randal, Colesberg, Herbert Road, Bray.
 Mooney, Herbert Charles, M.B., L.R.C.S.I., 22 Lower Baggot Street,
 Dublin.
 Nichols, Miss Edith M., 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin.
 Nichols, Miss Muriel, 85 Ranelagh Road, Dublin.
 Nugent, Hon. Mrs. Richard, Stacumny, Celbridge, Co. Kildare.
 O'Brien, John George, Lakefield, Fethard, Co. Tipperary.
 O'Donoghue, Cooper Charles, Oreland, North Circular Road,
 Limerick.
 O'Hanlon, Miss Lettice E., The Rectory, Innishannon, Co. Cork.

- O'Hara, James, J.P., 107 Sandymount Avenue, Dublin.
 Rennison, Rev. C. T., Killeagh Rectory, Oldcastle, Co. Meath.
 Ryan, W. J. Norwood, St. John's, Beaufort Road, Kingston-on-Thames.
 Scally, Miss Ethel, Ard Eimin, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 Scott, Rev. Canon George Digby, M.A., The Rectory, Bray.
 Stokes, Mrs. Kate, 3 Waterloo Road, Dublin.
 Truell, Robert Holt Stuart, West Mount, Dover, and Clonmanon, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow.
 Walsh, Michael Stephen, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., 24 North Frederick Street, Dublin.

The following are the names which have been removed from the List of Members for 1914 as owing three years' subscription. These Members may be restored to Membership on paying up all arrears:—

FELLOW

- Muldoon, John, O'Maoldubhain House, Dungannon.

MEMBERS

- Barry, Henry S., Leamlara, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork.
 Day, Rev. John, M.A., St. Ann's Vicarage, Dublin.
 Fenton, Rev. C. O'Connor, M.A., Roundhay, Leeds.
 Fenton, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, M.A., 20 Nelson Street, Liverpool.
 Hayes, James, Church Street, Ennis.
 Healy, Nicholas, High Street, Kilkenny.
 Johnstone, Swift Paine, Hôtel Métropole, Dublin.
 Kenny, Henry Egan, Hillington House, Goole.
 Keane, E. T., Parliament Street, Kilkenny.
 Morris, Henry, 8 Main Street, Strabane.
 Mulligan, Miss Sara, 13 Patrick Street, Kilkenny.
 Marstrander, Professor Carl, 122 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
 Moore-Brabazon, Chambré, Tara Hall, Tara.
 O'Connell, Sir Morgan Ross, Bart., Lakeview, Killarney.
 Power, John Joseph, High Street, Kilkenny.

List of Deaths notified during 1914 :—

FELLOWS

- Day, Robert F., M.R.I.A., J.P., Myrtle Hill House, Cork (*Member*, 1863 ; *Fellow*, 1888).
 French, Rev. Canon James F. M., M.R.I.A., Clonaston, Enniscorthy (*Member*, 1876 ; *Fellow*, 1889).
 Frost, Frederick Cornish, F.S.A., 5 Regent Street, Teignmouth (1910)
 Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D., M.R.I.A., 18 Leinster Road, West, Rathmines (*Member*, 1865 ; *Fellow*, 1906.)

- Kelly, George A. P., J.P., Cloonglasnymore, Strokestown (*Member*, 1890 ; *Fellow*, 1894).
- Mills, James, I.S.O., M.R.I.A., Public Record Office, Dublin (*Member*, 1889 ; *Fellow*, 1892).
- Pope, Peter A., New Ross, Co. Wexford (*Member*, 1889 ; *Fellow* 1893).
- Howley, Most Rev. Dr., St. John's, Newfoundland (1901).

MEMBERS

- Acheson, John, J.P., Dunavon, Portadown (1896).
- Bewley, Mrs. S., Knapton House, Kingstown (1901).
- Cadic, Edward, D.LITT., R.S.H., Belmont, Monkstown Road, Dublin (1891).
- Carolyn, George O., J.P., Iveragh, Shelbourne Road, Dublin.
- Castle Stuart, Rt. Hon. The Earl of, D.L., Drum Manor, Cookstown (1893).
- Condon, Frederick H., L.R.C.P.I., Ballyshannon (1893).
- Cosgrave, Henry A., M.A., 67 Pembroke Road, Dublin (1890).
- Denny, Francis McGillycuddy, Denny Street, Tralee (1889).
- Dickson, Rev. Canon William A., Fahan Rectory, Londonderry (1891).
- Falkiner, Rev. William F., M.A., M.R.I.A., Bank of Ireland, Londonderry (1888).
- Flynn, Very Rev. P. F., P.P., St. Ann's, Waterford.
- Godden, George, Phoenix Park, Dublin (1897).
- Hanan, Ven. Archdeacon, The Rectory, Tipperary (1889).
- Hughes, Benjamin, 96 North Main Street, Wexford (1895).
- Laughlin, Robert C., Gortin, Co. Tyrone (1901).
- Lawlor, Charles, J.P., 62 Leinster Road, Rathmines (1903).
- Leonard, Mrs. T., Warrenstown, Dunsany, Co. Meath (1892).
- McEnery, Rev. Francis, C.C., Westland Row, Dublin (1899).
- McGrath, Rev. Joseph B., C.C., Richmond Place, N.C.R., Dublin (1901).
- Manning, John B., 18 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin (1899).
- Murphy, M. L., Ballyboy, Ferns (1896).
- Nash, Richard G., J.P., Finnstown House, Lucan (1895).
- Ross-Lewin, Rev. Canon G. H., M.A., Shotley Bridge, Co. Durham (1905).
- Stephens, Pembroke Scott, K.C., 30 Cumberland Terrace, London, N.W. (1891).
- Williams, Edward William, D.L., Herringston, Dorchester (1868).

ASSOCIATE MEMBER

- Lardner, Miss A., 43 Mespil Road, Dublin (1914).

On the adoption of the Report the Chairman declared the following elected to their respective offices :—

AS PRESIDENT :—

COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

AS VICE-PRESIDENTS :—

FOR LEINSTER ... LORD WALTER FITZGERALD, M.R.I.A.

„ „ ... JOHN COOKE, M.A., M.R.I.A.

„ ULSTER ... WILLIAM GRAY, M.R.I.A.

„ MUNSTER ... SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, M.R.I.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

„ CONNACHT ... E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

AS HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY :—

CHARLES MCNEILL.

AS HONORARY TREASURER :—

HENRY BANTRY WHITE, M.A., M.A.I., I.S.O.

AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—

F. J. BIGGER, M.R.I.A., Fellow.

JAMES COLEMAN, Fellow.

T. P. LEFANU, C.B., Member.

P. J. LYNCH, M.R.I.A., Fellow.

G. W. PLACE, Fellow.

REV. J. L. ROBINSON, M.A., Fellow.

HERBERT WOOD, B.A., Member.

The Meeting then adjourned until 8 15 o'clock, p.m.

The Evening Meeting was held at 8 15 o'clock, p.m., COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

1. "Processional Cross, Pricket Candlestick and Bell, found together at Sheephouse near Oldbridge, Co. Meath," by E. C. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Vice-President*. (Illustrated by Lantern Views.)
2. "Prehistoric Remains (Forts and Dolmens) in Burren, Co. Clare, and its S.W. Border, Part xii and Conclusion," by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 23rd February, 1915.

AN EVENING MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 23rd of February, 1915, at 8 15 o'clock, p.m., COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

1. "The Earldom of Ulster, Part IV.: Inquisitions touching Coleraine, &c." By Goddard H. Orpen. *Member*.
2. "Some Early Ornamental Leatherwork." (Illustrated by Lantern Slides.) By J. J. Buckley, *Member*.

AN EVENING MEETING was held at 6 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, 30th March, at 8 15 p.m., COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

A paper on "South County Dublin : its History and Antiquities" was read by F. ELRINGTON BALL, D.LITT., *Vice-President*, and, at his desire, was not referred to the Council. The following papers were referred to the Council for publication :—"Entries relating to John O'Donovan and his immediate Relatives, from the Registers of the formerly united parishes of Slieverue and Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny," by REV. CANON CARRIGAN, D.D., P.P. "Fiacha Mac Aodha Ua Bhroin," by GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, communicated by R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., *Fellow*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN 1914

- American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, vol. xxiii, part 2 ;
vol. xxiv, part 1.
Antiquary, The, for 1914.
Archaeologia Cambrensis, 6th Series, vol. xiv, parts 1-4.
Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, Proceedings, 2nd Series, vol. vii,
part 1.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Transactions,
vol. xxxvi, parts 1 and 2.
British Archaeological Association Journal, vol. xix, part 4 ; vol. xx,
nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, vol. lxxv.
Cambridge and Huntingdon Archaeological Society, Transactions,
vol. iii, parts 9 and 10.
Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Journal, vol. xix, nos.
100-103.
Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers, Selskabs Skrifter, 1913.
Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, Proceedings,
vol. xxxv.
Epigraphia Indica, vol. xi, nos. 6, 7, and 8 ; vol. xii, nos. 1 and 2 ;
and Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, Journal, vol. viii,
no. 2. Index to Journals, i-vii.
Institution of Civil Engineers, Transactions, vol. xl.
Irish Builder for 1914.
Kildare Archaeological Society, Journal, vol. vii, nos. 5 and 6.
Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, nos. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56.
Numismatique de Musée National de Transylvanie, Travaux, vol. v.
Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements for 1914.
Revue celtique, vol. xxxiv, no. 4 ; vol. xxxv., nos. 1, 2, and 3.
Royal Anthropological Institute, Journal, vol. xliii, xlv.
Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Journal,
vol. lxx, nos. 279, 280 ; vol. lxxi, no. 281.
Royal Institute of British Architects, Journal, vol. xxi, parts 1, 2,
3, and 4. Kalendar, 1914-1915.
Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings, vol. xxxii, Sec. C, parts 6-13.
Smithsonian Institution Publications, Report, Year ending 30th
June, 1913.
Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles, Annales, tome xxvii, liv.
2, 3, 4 ; Annuaire, tome xxv.

- Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings, 2nd Series, vol. xxv ;
Archaeologia, vol. lxiv.
 Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Proceedings, 3rd Series,
 vol. vi, pp. 141-268 ; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vols. x and xi.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Proceedings, vol. xlvii.
 Society of Architects, Journal, vol. vii, nos. 75-84 ; vol. viii, nos. 85
 and 86.
 Somersetshire Archaeological Society, Proceedings, 3rd Series,
 vol. xxix.
 Surrey Archaeological Collections, General Index, i to xx.
 Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. lvi.
 Thoresby Society Publication, vol. xix, part 2 ; vol. xxii, part 2.
 Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, nos. 120
 and 121. Inquisitions Post Mortem, part 5.
 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. xxii, part 88 ; vol. xxiii,
 parts 89, 90.
 Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Report, 1913.
 Bibliography of Irish Philology.
 The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, parts vii and viii.
 Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1913.
 Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, Edward I, Part II, by
 James Mills.
 Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Transactions, vols. 64
 and 65.
 Kent Archaeological Society, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxx.
 The Hunter Archaeological Society, Transactions, vol. i, no. 1.
 The Town Wall Fortifications of Ireland, by J. S. Fleming, F.S.A.
 The Antiquity of Man in Ireland, by W. J. Knowles.
 Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, 1st to the 12th Year of
 the reign of King Edward IV, by H. F. Berry, LITT.D.
 Irish Seal Matrices and Seals, by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A.
 Hand-Book to Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, by Rev. J. L.
 Robinson, F.R.S.A.I.

REPORT OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION, 1914.

The collection has now 2,914 photographs, 43 having been added during the year : 33 were given by Mr. Hubert T. Knox, and 10 by the Keeper. They are distributed under the following counties :—

Co. CFARE.—Caherdoonfergus, at Black Head ; Cahermakerrila, near Lisdoonvarna—2 in all.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

The "Extra Volumes" for the following years are :—

1888-89—"The Rude Stone Monuments of Co. Sligo and the Island of Achill," by Colonel Wood-Martin. (*Out of print.*)

***1890-91**—"The Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346, with the Middle English Moral Play, *The Pride of Life*, from the original in the Christ Church Collection in the Public Record Office, Dublin," edited by James Mills, M.R.I.A.

1892—"Inis Muiredach, now Inismurray, and its Antiquities," by W. F. Wakeman (cloth, royal 8vo, with Map and 84 Illustrations). (Price 7s. 6d.)

***1893-95**—"The Annals of Clonmacnoise," from the MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.

***1896-97**—"Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483," from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by Henry F. Berry, M.A., T.C.D., Barrister-at-Law.

***1898-1901**—The Index to the first Nineteen Volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1849-1889, inclusive, complete in Three Parts. Parts I, II, and III now ready, price 3s. 6d. each. The whole forming vol. xx of the Consecutive Series of the *Journal* of the Society.

1902-1906—"The Gormanston Register," edited by James Mills, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. (*Nearly ready.*)

***1907-1908**—"Inscribed Slabs at Clonmacnois." By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

1909—"Old Irish Folk Music and Songs." By P. W. Joyce, LL.D. (Price 10s. 6d.)

* *These Volumes may be had from the Society's Publishers, price 10s. each.*

In preparation.

The Index to the *Journal*, 1891-1910.

A volume of County Cork Topographical and Archaeological Surveys.

The Minute-Books of the Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral.

MSS. in the possession of the Bellew family.

The "Extra Volumes" previous to the year 1890 are out of print, except "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," edited by M. Stokes, of which several complete Volumes and Parts, with numerous Illustrations, may be had. Price £3 for the complete Volumes.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND

SERIES VI, VOL. V.

VOL. XLV



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30 JUNE, 1915

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DUBLIN

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1915

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

(Formerly the Kilkenny Archæological Association, and the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland)

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THE JOURNAL

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FOR THE YEAR 1911

The Second Part of the Index to the Journal comprising Vols. XXI to XL (1890-91 to 1910), which was prepared by the late General Stubbs and revised and edited by William Cotter Stubbs, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, has now been issued. Price, in paper cover, 10s. 6d.; in cloth, 12s. 6d.

A few copies of the Index to Vols. I-XIX (1849 to 1889), which was issued as Vol. XX of the Journal are still to be had.

the three first prelates promoted to the see by the influence of the Kings of England. The two earliest of these archbishops were men of conspicuous ability and experience in public affairs. John Cumin, the first of them, was appointed after a form of election had been gone through at Evesham by some Irish ecclesiastics sent there to King Henry II, and by members of the English hierarchy who associated themselves with the representatives from Dublin.¹ In reality, the appointment was made by direct exercise of the royal influence. Cumin had been chosen by Henry II to be chief of the embassy which, during the disputes between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he despatched to Pope Alexander III; and ten

¹ See *Gesta Henrici II* (Rolls Series) I, p. 280-1.

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VOL. XLV, PART II
(VOL. V, SIXTH SERIES—VOL. XLV, CONSEC. SERIES)

THE SECULAR JURISDICTION OF THE EARLY ARCH-
BISHOPS OF DUBLIN

By C. MCNEILL, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

[Read 31 MARCH 1914]

AMONG the many important records copied into the collection of documents relating to the diocese of Dublin, which is known as Archbishop Alen's Register, there is a series of inquisitions taken early in the second half of the 13th century deserving of careful examination. The subject dealt with is the temporal jurisdiction exercised in the manorial courts of the archbishopric of Dublin under the three first prelates promoted to the see by the influence of the Kings of England. The two earliest of these archbishops were men of conspicuous ability and experience in public affairs. John Cumin, the first of them, was appointed after a form of election had been gone through at Evesham by some Irish ecclesiastics sent there to King Henry II, and by members of the English hierarchy who associated themselves with the representatives from Dublin.¹ In reality, the appointment was made by direct exercise of the royal influence. Cumin had been chosen by Henry II to be chief of the embassy which, during the disputes between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he despatched to Pope Alexander III; and ten

¹ See *Gesta Henrici II* (Rolls Series) I, p. 280-1.

years later he was named second of the six judges of the King's Court to which the north-western of the four newly-erected judicial districts of England was assigned. He had for a junior colleague on that bench the celebrated jurist, Ranulf de Glanville.

Henry de Londres, who also is said to have borne the family name of Cumin, but was more popularly nicknamed Scorchvillein, or "Skin-the-serf," was the second English Archbishop of Dublin. He was a prominent figure in the events of his time as the friend, counsellor and upholder of King John alike, to all appearance, in his violence and in his craft. By John, as subsequently by his son Henry III, Archbishop Henry was made justiciary of Ireland. The episcopates of these two archbishops extended over a little less than half a century, and in that time the administration of the Church of St Laurence was brought into harmony with English notions, and its temporalities were organised in the forms of feudal law. It was the task for which these archbishops were specially selected.

At the outset of the consideration of the subject of this paper the question arises whether the civil jurisdiction which Irish churches are seen to exercise after the English occupation was a gift newly conferred upon them by the King of England, or whether it was a right which they had enjoyed previously. Apart from the historical interest of the question, an accurate idea of the jurisdiction can scarcely be had unless we know something of its origin. If it was conferred by royal grant its extent and character will be fixed by the terms of the grant; if it was an original jurisdiction it will appear as one based upon custom and prescription, whose features are to be discerned in use and practice. But a customary jurisdiction might be as secure as one specifically granted, and even though based on the native law and custom of Ireland, would none the less be valid under the new government, since it fell within that clause of the bull "*Laudabiliter*," "*jure ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente*," which provided that all the rights of churches were to be maintained entire and unabated. Even if the bull were shown to be spurious, its adoption and publication by the King of England constituted it a title for the maintenance of those rights against the Crown.

We have no copies of charters granted by the Crown to the See of Dublin during the episcopate of St Laurence O'Toole, who ruled the See for ten years after the English established their Irish seat of government at Dublin. The earliest known charter conveying jurisdiction is that obtained from Prince John while he was as yet only Count of Mortain in Normandy and Lord of Ireland. Harris, who ascribed this charter to the year 1184, observed of it that it "does not stand without Suspicion of Blemish. Earl John was young when he arrived in Ireland. . . . It is easy to conceive how far

this young Prince might be wrought on to sign anything that was brought him. But the Vanity of the Grant appears in this, that Earl John during the whole time of his Government, and his Successors for a long time after him, had no actual Dominion over all Ireland, nor could hold Courts nor send Sheriffs or Judges to above a third Part of it. How then could he grant to this archbishop that Power which he had not himself ? ”

This is rather artless criticism, and the writer seems to have allowed himself to be carried away by preconceptions. In our day less difficulty will be felt in conceding that Prince John, or even King John in his riper years, would very readily part with a thing which he had not got, and which someone could be found to accept with the customary acknowledgment. His father, against whom there lies no charge of youthful levity, had no actual dominion over Meath when he conveyed it by charter to de Lasci, nor over Ulster when he is said to have bestowed it on de Curci. D’Alton meets Harris’s objection with quaint ineptitude. Observing that Harris has assumed too early a date for the charter, he says, correctly enough, that internal evidence points to the year 1191 as the true date, and at that time, he thinks, such a grant might have been made by John, because King Richard was at the siege of Acre. There is no doubt, he adds, that such a charter was granted, since it is preserved in the archives of Christ Church.¹

This has been printed by the Irish Record Commission, not from an original, but from the copy registered in the *Black Book* of Christ Church, and its tenor is as follows :—“ Know that through devotion to God and for the welfare of my ancestors and successors I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my venerable father, John, Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors all liberties and free customs granted by my predecessors to him and to his church ; and that the said archbishop and his successors after him shall have throughout the whole land of Ireland court and justice of his own men, both in cities and in lands outside.²

The words suspected by Harris are “ throughout the whole land of Ireland,” for which, however, there would be no difficulty in finding parallels. But there are other expressions in the charter deserving of notice. Prince John distinguishes between his ancestors, for whom he had a pious interest, and his predecessors in authority, who had conferred liberties on the Church of Dublin. Of English

¹ It is not among the Christ Church documents now preserved in the Record Office.

² *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*, p. 6, with date, circa 1190 : more probably in 1192, when Altin, Bishop of Ferns, and Stephen Ridel, who witnessed this charter jointly, witnessed another grant made to Archbishop John at Nottingham.

predecessors he had but one, his father, King Henry II ; the others must have been Irish Kings of Leinster or Norse rulers of Dublin. In this charter manifestly we have an example of a very numerous class by which nothing was actually given that was not previously possessed except recognition and title in the forms of Norman law, which were very valuable to have. The vagueness of the charter indicates that there was already in existence a customary jurisdiction of remote origin, which Archbishop Cumin, himself an experienced lawyer, thought it well to put upon a secure and unquestionable footing. This will be seen more clearly in the case of the Abbey of Glendaloch, for which earlier deeds are forthcoming than for the diocese of Dublin. When Earl Richard was viceroy in Ireland for the King of England from 1173 to 1176 he granted a charter of confirmation to Abbot Thomas, St Laurence O'Toole's nephew and successor at Glendaloch. Having recited in detail the lands pertaining to the abbey of ancient right, the earl declares that the abbot is to have all these fully, freely, &c., and also his court and justice of all pertaining to the abbey, without tribute, judgment, hospitality or service to any layman, "as King Diarmaid," he says, "testified to me in the word of truth." Here the viceroy clearly bases his grant on a pre-existing condition of things, as to which, for his own security no doubt, he had required a formal and solemn assurance from the person best able to give it authoritatively, the reigning King of Leinster. King Diarmaid had died in 1171, two years before Earl Richard was appointed viceroy, and the stress laid upon his testimony after that interval seems to make it the more significant. As if for further emphasis and corroboration the charter was witnessed in the first place by Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin and Metropolitan of Leinster, and in the second by the Countess Eva, Earl Richard's wife and King Diarmaid's asserted heir.

About the year 1174, according to the Irish Record Commission, and at all events before Walter de Coutances was elected Bishop of Lincoln, that is, not later than the early part of 1183, the Glendaloch charter was confirmed by King Henry II at Guildford in letters patent addressed to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, barons, justices, and all his ministers and faithful subjects of France, England and Ireland. In these letters Earl Richard's charter is mentioned as one of confirmation only and not of grant. "Know," they say, "that I have given and granted and by this my charter have confirmed to my well-beloved clerk, Thomas, the dignity stiled the Abbacy of Glendaloch . . . and all things, possessions, men and rents, . . . wheresoever they be, to that abbacy pertaining, in perpetual alms as best Earl Richard confirmed them by his charter ; and therefore

I command and firmly enjoin that the said Thomas have his court and justice of all pertaining to that dignity, and that he have all other things of which Earl Richard's charter speaks. And do you cause him to have without hindrance all his things and possessions and men, wheresoever they be, and his liberties and free customs, and do you safeguard and protect him freely and peacefully, wholly and honourably without lay service so that you neither do nor permit to be done any injury or affront to him or to his men. And should anyone presume to transgress herein in any way, do full justice thereof upon him without delay." ¹

The original jurisdiction on which these confirmations were grounded is clearly declared in ancient Irish law. There is a tract in the *Senchus Mór* which defines under eight heads the mutual relations between various classes and individuals in the community. The first head deals with the relations of lord and vassal, the second with those of a church and the occupiers of its lands. Having laid down the duties of the church the tract proceeds to state its rights as follows :—

“ Judgment, proof and testimony belong to the church in respect of its tenants, whether in free or in base tenure, and over every other layman, even though a free tenant of church lands, unless another church of equal dignity claims him.”

Another tract, the *Law of Precincts*, asserts the rights of sanctuary and of what in feudal law was styled redemption, that is, compounding by a payment in money for punishment incurred, even when the legal penalty was death.

“ The Church,” it says, “ gives protection to offenders so that they shall come forth from it free or bond exactly as they entered it . . . Offenders receive protection in the Church until they quit it, so that even when death has been deserved, fines are accepted from them.” This right of sanctuary was unconditional for a definite legal term ; when that had expired it might be extended for a further period if the culprit offered to submit to law ; but in no case could a culprit be put to death after taking sanctuary, nor could he be destroyed by an excessive mulct. Jurisdiction to this extent, in the theory of feudal law, was regal in its nature, and could be exercised by a subject only in virtue of a grant by the Crown. We shall find in the documents we are to consider that such regalities were exercised continuously by the diocesans both in Dublin and Glendaloch,

¹ *Crede Mihi*, p. 38 (as usual, without attestation) ; *Chartae*, &c., p. 1, from Alen's Register, giving witnesses' names, of whom the first is Walter [de Coutances], Archdeacon of Oxford, elected Bishop of Lincoln, 8th May, 1183 (*Ralph de Diceto*, 615).

and that when they were questioned, justification was not claimed in virtue of a grant but as a right used uninterruptedly by every archbishop and bishop within the memory of man : in other words, that it was an original jurisdiction transmitted from the days of Irish rule. The formal returns to the inquisition appear to avoid carefully any explicit mention of what took place previous to the English occupation. They speak generally of "all the predecessors" of the then archbishop ; but when they have to mention what took place in the diocese of Glendaloch, which had only one English bishop before the See was united to Dublin, they use the plural "bishops," and include thereby the former Irish prelates. With these facts in mind it will be possible to appreciate more fully the significance of the returns.

The occasion upon which the inquisitions were taken does not appear from the documents themselves, because they are not the original returns made to the authority by which the inquiry was set on foot. They are, however, as appears from a note by Alen, contemporary transcripts, retained probably by the archbishop's officers, in which only what was considered material is extracted, and those formal words of title are omitted which would have indicated for us the purpose of the inquiry and the date when it was held. The date can be ascertained within comparatively narrow limits. It fell within the episcopate of Fulk de Saunford, to whom the temporalities were restored on 26th Nov. 1256, and, consequently, 1257 may be regarded as the earliest year. All the matters to which the inquiry was directed were decided in the most solemn form by an inquisition in parliament at Castledermot on Wednesday in Trinity week, 1264, before the justiciary and the principal officers of state. After that decision there can have been no recourse to a less authoritative tribunal. We may conclude, therefore, that the manorial inquisitions were held within the years from 1257 to 1263, both included.

The occasion may be inferred from the general political situation of the time. In 1254 Prince Edward, a lad of fifteen, was appointed Lord of Ireland by his father, King Henry III. His justiciary of Ireland was Alan la Zuche, and his seneschal was Richard de la Rochelle. From the very outset the Irish government was in conflict with the Church on the subject of jurisdiction, and its action was not only violent but grossly illegal. The Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Connacht appealed to King Henry in 1256 against invasions of their liberties ; they complained that attachments and summonses were issued in their lands by officials of government, that their tenants were wrongfully compelled to render forced services, and that they themselves were terrorised into submitting

to unlawful amerciements, and dare not stand upon their rights through dread of still heavier mulcts. The Bishop of Lismore, also, had recourse to the Crown; and by its authority a writ of the justiciary was revoked on the ground that it was wholly contrary to law. The policy of which these actions were the outcome was vigorously pursued in Leinster by another justiciary, Stephen Lungespée, appointed in 1259. Archbishop Fulk, involved in an ecclesiastical lawsuit, was summoned to Rome in that year. He anticipated that trouble would arise in his absence, and his anticipations were realised. In March and April of 1260 he obtained three separate bulls from Alexander IV to restrain the justiciary from meddling with ecclesiastical causes; but they were ineffective. The next pope, Urban IV, endeavoured by strong personal admonitions to prevail on King Henry and the prince to restrain the usurpations and violence of their ministers in Ireland; and concurrently the Pope authorised certain prelates in England to make strenuous representations at Court, while other prelates in Ireland were empowered to proceed by ecclesiastical censure against the justiciary and his officials if they would not desist from their transgressions. Though the papal intervention had regard to ecclesiastical liberties alone, and our concern is entirely with secular liberties, we should have a very inaccurate notion of the circumstances and occasion with which we have to deal, if we left the concomitant events out of consideration. The policy of government was equally motived in each direction: and this movement in Ireland, which has not received the attention of high constitutional historians, will be seen to be of the same character as that which found expression nearly twenty years later in England; when Edward, soon after he ascended the Throne, issued his famous commission of *quo warranto*, and put all claimants of exceptional privileges on proof of title. The policy which la Zuche or de la Rochelle instituted in the boy prince's name in Ireland was to win for the great King his title of the English Justinian. On his first return from the Holy Land," says Mr Illingworth, "he discovered that the revenues of the Crown had been considerably diminished by ecclesiastics as well as laymen withholding from the Crown under various pretexts its just rights and usurping the right of holding courts and other *jura regalia*. He therefore appointed commissioners to whom were delivered certain articles of inquiry applicable to the several abuses."¹

This procedure of delivering articles of inquiry was that which had been adopted in the inquisition for the diocese of

¹ *Placita de Quo Warranto*, 1818, pref.

Dublin, and the articles may be deduced as follows from the replies :—

1. Were persons that had been waived in the Lord Edward's court afterwards received in the archbishop's tenement ?

2. Had the archbishop waiver of criminals ?

3. Had he view and burial of persons found dead ?

4. Could the King's bailiff enter the archbishop's tenement to serve summons or attachment ?

5. Had the archbishop trial by combat ?

6. Had he abjuration of felons ?

7. Were pleas of the Crown pleaded in his courts ?

8. Had he escheats of felons and homicides ?

9. Could he take redemption of Englishmen ?

The only point upon which there is any appearance of uncertainty is that of waiver. Some of the jurors seem to have been doubtful of the effect of their answer as to it : At St Sepulchre's and Castlekevin they said that no one waived by the Lord Edward was received in the archbishop's tenement ; if any one were received, he was detained and handed over to the archbishop's bailiffs. At Ballymore they simply denied that any such person is or ever was received. At Swords their information was to the contrary, and they gave an instance. At Clondalkin they never heard of such a thing, and at Shankill they answered with great circumspection that they had no means of knowing who was waived in the Lord Edward's court ; if names were given, perhaps they might be able to answer.

This matter of harbouring outlaws was manifestly considered perilous by the jurors on the Irish borders, for waiver in these documents is used as the equivalent of outlawry. It is stated in books that waiver is a term applied to women, and only to them, in cases where a man would be said to be outlawed, and a very wise reason is assigned. Here there is no such distinction—waiver, and never outlawry, is applied to men throughout, and is shown to have been a familiar occurrence. The presumption is that the book distinction and reason are both fanciful. Apart from waiver, the answers are all to the same effect in positive and unhesitating terms. They establish every article of the impeached jurisdiction with a wealth of instance and detail drawn from everyday experience, and thus incidentally they picture vividly a most notable epoch in Irish history. Officials and their functions, the affairs of private individuals, some stirring incidents in their lives, and occurrences of which localities well known to ourselves were the scenes, are brought into view with distinctness, variety and detail through a period of eighty years in the early days of the English settlement. In matter like this the political historian, the student of the development of

law and institutions, and the student of social progress will find much to repay careful examination.

DOCUMENTS ¹

21b (92).—Earl Richard,² vice-gerent in Ireland of the King of England, grants to Thomas his clerk the abbey and personatus of Glendaloch and its possessions in perpetual alms. [Then he details “the lands pertaining to the abbey of ancient right”].

All these the abbot is to have fully, &c., and also his court and justice of all pertaining to the abbey, without tribute, judgment, hospitality and service to layman, as King Diarmicius³ testified on the word of truth.

Witnesses : L. Archbishop of Dublin, Eua the countess, &c.

[Printed (without the names of witnesses) in Gilbert’s *Crede Mihi*, no. XLIV].

18b (85).—King Henry II confirms Earl Richard’s grant of the Abbey of Glendaloch to Thomas his clerk.

Witnesses : Master Walter de Cout[ances], Archdeacon of Oxford, Regn’ de Curten[eia], Hugh de Laici, William de Braosa, Hugh de Gundevilla, William son of Aldelm, dapifer : at Gildeforde.

[Printed in Gilbert’s *Crede Mihi*, but without testification. The date, says Alen, was 1172, “immediately after the martyrdom of St Thomas” ; but it does not appear what his authority was. Since de Coutances became Bishop of Lincoln in July, 1183, that becomes the extreme later limit. Previous to 1177 he was much employed in continental negotiations ; he returned to England in 1177, and in that year de Lasci and fitzAldelin were sent together into Ireland ; de Gundevilla had been appointed an itinerant justice in 1176. These circumstances seem to point to 1177 as the likeliest date, and though there seems no record that the King made a stay at Guildford in that year, he might have passed that way in going from Reading to Canterbury in April].

20b (89).—“FOR CONGUIZAUNCE”

John, Count of Mortain and Lord of Ireland, grants and confirms to John, Archbishop of Dublin, all the liberties and free customs granted by himself and his predecessors to the archbishop and his

¹ The numerals not in brackets shew the folios of the original register : those in brackets the folios of the Archbishop’s copy. The several MSS. are distinguished thus—A1, the original : A2, the archbishop’s copy (both in the Dublin Diocesan Office) : M, Marsh’s Library copy : T, Trinity College MS. 554 : R, Reeves’ copy, now T.C.D. MS. 1061. See Dr Lawlor’s “Notes on the Register of Archbishop Alan,” *Hermathena* xiv, no. xxxiii (1907).

² Died 1176.

³ Died 1171.

church, and court and justice of his own men throughout all Ireland, both in cities and in lands without.

[The text is printed in Gilbert's *Crede Mihi*, no. xxxi, p. 35.

Date : between the archbishop's consecration at Velletri, 13th March, 1182, and John's accession, Ascension Day, 1199. Harris, assigning it to 1184, questions its authenticity on the ground that the grant is beyond Count John's power to make. Dalton (*Archbishops*, p. 77) "from the names of the witnesses and other internal evidence" refers it to 1191. The text is printed in *Ch. Pr. and Im.*, p. 6, with date *circa* 1190, but more probably 1192, when Albin, Bishop of Ferns, and Stephen Ridell witnessed at Nottingham another grant to Archbishop John. In this year 1912 a grant of John's to Thomas, Abbot of Glendaloch, was issued at Nottingham.]

82 (223).—INQUISITION TAKEN AT ST SEPULCHRE'S

Alexander Baker (*pistor*), Robert Dispensator, William de Lacy, Richard Seerman, John de Taillour, William Turnure, Nicholas Pellipare (? Skinner), Walter son of Stephen, William son of Richard, John of the Abbey (*de Abbacia*), Adam Catelyna, Henry Baker (*pistor*), Roger Carter (*Carectar*), Thomas son of William, William son of le Turnure, Ralph Shearman (*Cissor*), Richard son of William, sworn at St Sepulchre's, Dublin, to say the truth of the articles exposed to them, say :

As to the first article : that no one waived in the court of the Lord E[dward] was received within the tenement of the Archbishop of Dublin.

As to the second article : if any persons waived in the Lord E.'s court were received and found in the tenement, they were detained and delivered to the archbishop's bailiffs. In the time of Archbishops H[enry de Londres] and L[uke] such persons were always delivered to the bailiffs aforesaid ; and one named Sylmhel¹ Maclotan was waived, he was an "estman" and had the law of the English, and a brother of his, Salgekil by name, put himself in flight for the same offence and returned to the lord's peace for his money which he gave to the said archbishop before Master H. de Glindelache² [seneschal], afterwards Bishop of Ossory, and other bailiffs and adjoints. In Archbishop Luke's time one John Rosel by name had a wife, Edit, by whose act he received Henry Brabasun, a thief, in

¹ Probably for Gyluihel = *Gíolla Mhichíl*.

² Otherwise Hugh de Mapilton, Archdeacon of Dublin ; he became Bishop of Ossory in 1251-1256 ; his predecessor as archdeacon, Geoffrey de Furville, had also preceded him in Ossory (1244), at which last date Hugh probably became archdeacon and vacated the seneschalship.

J.'s house. He [*i.e.*, Brabasun] was afterwards taken with what he had stolen, and John and his wife were hanged by the archbishop's bailiffs in the time when Geoffrey de Slyby (? Elyne)¹ was seneschal, and his land was taken into the archbishop's hand by judgment of the court, and he gave it to John, his brewer ; and these were English, and the king does not and did not set his hand to the said land.

As to the third article : the archbishop's bailiffs always take view of men slain, [found] dead or drowned, and take inquest without coroners, and bury the dead. Whence it happened while the see was vacant in the octave of St Hilary after Archbishop L.'s death that Alice, an Englishwoman, died suddenly in St Keyuin's Street, and inquest being made as was usual in the time of the aforesaid archbishops, the escheator's bailiffs made the inquest and buried her. In Archbishop H.'s time malefactors slew Richard le Somenure and Emma, his wife, by night, and the archbishop's bailiffs took view and inquest, and had them buried ; Richard le Folour was indicted for homicide committed in the archbishop's tenement ; he was taken and imprisoned in the king's prison, and was delivered to the archbishop's court by judgment of the king's court. The archbishop's seneschal at the time was Richard de la Cornere, afterwards Bishop of Meath.²

As to the fourth article : no bailiff of the king has been wont to make summonses or attachments except at St Sepulchre's, where the archbishop's attorney, thereto deputed, received in writing from the King's bailiffs the names of those to be summoned or attached before the justices, and he issued a mandate in the archbishop's name. In Archbishop H.'s time and for a long time under Archbishop L., Robert de Curia was assigned for this purpose ; after him succeeded Walter Pollard, after him John de le Tailour, after him William le Panier [or Pavier, A2], and after him John le Tailour again during Archbishop L.'s time and during the [subsequent] vacancy of the see.

As to the fifth article : whether the archbishop have duel for felony or homicide : It happened that certain thieves stole of Archbishop L.'s wood, for which Hugh Leschumere was arrested and attached. He appealed Walter de Tuelauche, so that duel was wagered, and H., the appellant, afterwards came into the archbishop's court, and withdrew himself and satisfied the lord by

¹ This seneschal's name appears in many forms : the most correct perhaps being Elyne (or Elyen, which seems to have occasioned the form above) ; from the spelling Eline, it is sometimes read Elme, as in Cotton's *Fasti* : he was preceptor of St. Patrick's under Archbishop Luke.

² Tenant of Balyusky . . . his sister was prioress and foundress of Lacymolyn [Lismullen, Co. Meath]. He was consecrated 1232, and died 1250. *Allen's note.*

judgment of the court, peace being then reformed outside the court by mediators. In Archbishop L.'s time also, Richard Smith (*faber*), who dwelt outside St Sepulchre's, stole wool and cheese in the cellar of the house of St Sepulchre's; he fled, and was afterwards waived in the usual way by judgment of the court; his land immediately fell into the lord [archbishop]'s hand as his escheat, and is so still, and the King's bailiff's never set hands on it.

As to the sixth article: Thomas Chaste killed Geoffrey Aboulcon (?)¹, and fled to St Patrick's Church; he abjured the lord's land before the archbishop's bailiffs, and Thomas's land was taken straightway into the archbishop's hand as his escheat, so that the King never set his hands on it. Many others fled to churches in the time of Archbishop F[ulk]'s predecessors, and they always abjured the land of the archbishops in presence of their bailiffs without calling on the king's bailiffs—viz., in the time of Master H. de Glindelach and Walter Everus. And it should be known that the said Master did not set any of the king's tenants to watch fugitives to churches on the king's part, but watched by his own tenants.

As to the seventh article: all predecessors [of the archbishop] that now is pleaded all pleas in his court except the four pleas of the crown.

As to the eighth article: the archbishop's bailiffs straightway take into his hand, as his escheat, the lands or tenements of homicides, felons and thieves, as appears above.

As to the ninth article: Archbishop Fulk's predecessors frequently took redemption for the death of an Englishman; for instance, in Archbishop L.'s time, William Miller (*Molendinar'*) of Moleneton, and his sons, Richard and Ralph, were taken for the death of Ralph the miller (who was killed by Heymarthus in their presence), because they did not detain the latter. Taken and imprisoned, they made fine in the archbishop's court, Geoffrey de Elun being then seneschal. As for theft by an Englishman, Ralph Ragge, an Englishman, stole a ewe and other things in Archbishop L.'s time; being taken and imprisoned he made fine, Andrew the clerk being then bailiff, who held the court. In Archbishop L.'s time one Ralph, Walter Pollard's sergeant that carried the keys, an Englishman, stole grain in the "Hagard" beside St Keyuin's, namely, wheat and beans; being taken and imprisoned he made fine in the lord's court, the seneschal or bailiff being Andrew the clerk who held the court. An Englishman named Andrew, taken and imprisoned for theft in the time of Archbishop L., made fine in the

¹ *Ab* here probably represents M.

aforesaid Andrew's time, the bailiff being John le Taillour, who kept the prison.¹

The jurors say likewise that in the time of the predecessors of Archbishop Fulk who now is, the king's bedels or ministers never made caption within the tenement of the said lords, either of grain or beasts or other things; strangers therefore used to come with their wares into the tenement of the said lords, and they were not arrested by the king's officers, and were always secure throughout the liberties of the archbishopric, and securely sold their wares.

Likewise the king's sergeants never compelled the men of archbishop Fulk's predecessors to do carting or to draw victuals for the justiciary against their will.

89 (238).—INQUISITION AT SENKELLE (SHANKILL)

Names of the jurors of the bailiffship of Senkelle: Sir Augustine son of Roger, John Lysbane, Ric. son of Hugh, Jordan Sourame, Radlue de Burton, Macy de Senkelle, Thomas son of Robert, John Symmaks (or Symnaks), Rc. de Camera, Elias Warin, John son of Roger de Dauks, Roger Synnuche, who being sworn say:

First Article.—Mc duel of Rathmichel, who was an Estman, was waived in court for theft of goods of William de Goldocks in Archbishop Luke's time, Andrew the clerk being vice-seneschal. Robert Passauant, an Englishman, killed long William Laeles in the archbishop's tenement near Kilm'beyrne in Archbishop Luke's time, twenty years past and more, and he was waived in the archbishop's court in the time of Geoffrey de Eline, seneschal. In the time of the same archbishop and seneschal, Symon, an Englishman, and brother of John de Balycodman's wife, killed McLoyne the miller, an Irishman, in the gate of Senkille, and this ff (*sic*) was waived in the archbishop's court. Kilcrist McSoynne killed Silvester Soyme at Dalkey, and was waived in Archbishop L.'s time, Walter Deyuereus vice-seneschal.

Second Article.—In Archbishop L.'s time, long William Laeleys, Macloyne the miller and Silvester Soymn (or Soynm), killed as above, as also two merchants found slain in the tenement of Archbishop F. were buried by view of the bailiffs of Senkylle and not by view of the coroner of the King of England or of the Lord E[dward]. In Archbishop L.'s time two carpenters accidentally killed by timber at Senkill, Geoffrey Pellipar (? Skinner) and Pheynati McConethrann were buried by view of the bailiffs of Senkille and not by others.

Third Article.—In the time of all the archbishops summons and

¹ See, the care of the prison belongs to the bailiff or his deputy, the hostiarius or janitor. *Allen's note.*

attachments were made and debts of the exchequer levied by the archbishops' bailiffs and summonitors, and no others, at the order of the bailiff of St Sepulchre's; and it was he that ordered bailiffs of the manors to choose jurors in the archbishops' whole tenement, and by his letters he ordered summonses, attachments, views of land and other customs until after the time of Sir William de Chorane, seneschal of Archbishop F., who now is.

Fourth Article.—In Archbishop H.'s time, Robert Luterelle being seneschal, Kylkrist McBeain of Roger de Klynery's tenement appealed Ofryly of Castle Kevyn in the court of Senkille for stealing a cow, and a duel ensuing, the defendant was overcome and was drawn by the feet to the archbishop's gallows. In the time of Archbishop L. and G. de Heline, twenty years past and more, Anestleys O'Kellayne appealed Kylkeyne of theft, and a duel ensuing at Kilmcbeyrne, the accuser was slain and his chattels remained in possession of the archbishop, and the defendant was set at liberty by the archbishop's court.

Fifth Article.—At Archbishop Luke's first coming, Robert Lutterell and G. de Heline being seneschals, John Blake, an Englishman, the archbishop's reaper, killed Ofinerchach McDowyll and fled to the church; he abjured the archbishop's tenement by view of Nicholas de Kemmesbur', bailiff of Senkille. Under the same archbishop, Thomas Crun' of New Castle [? being bailiff], Roger, an Englishman, fled to the church of Killagr' for the theft of a horse, and he abjured the archbishop's tenement by view of Andrew the clerk above-named and Ralph de Heynbestun, bailiff. In Archbishop F.'s time a man of Swoseford fled to the chapel of the island for the theft of an anchor at Dalkey, and he abjured the archbishop's tenement by view of Symon the clerk and bailiff of Dalkey. Neyuinus McOrthan fled for theft to the church of Senkylle and abjured the archbishop's tenement by view of the bailiff of that place. The son of Henry Hori, an Englishman of the king's tenement, fled to the church of Kilkeyl for theft, and abjured the archbishop's tenement by view of the bailiff of Senkylle.

Sixth Article.—In the time of all the archbishops all the lands and chattels of persons waived, whether for homicide or theft, remained at once in the archbishop's possession, as instanced in the Rathmichell duel; neither the king nor the princes, lords of Ireland, had ever seisin for a year and a day of the lands of anyone waived of the archbishop's tenements.

Seventh Article.—In Archbishop L.'s time Hodo McFoyde, Ostman, made fine for theft in the archbishop's court before Andrew the clerk and Robert son of Nicholas, seneschals. Henry Stuke and many others made fine and redemption for theft in the

lord's court at Senkylle. In Archbishop F.'s time Roger son of Thomas Chapman made fine and redemption for homicide and theft, and Thomas and John Pussake and many others [did so] for theft.

Eighth Article.—They know not who were waived in the king or in the lord E.'s court, and therefore cannot know who received them in the archbishop's tenement; if such persons were named to them, perhaps they could answer.

The bailiffs of the king and the Lord E. or their summonitors were never accustomed to enter the archbishop's tenement in any plea for summonses, attachments, views of land or levying exchequer debts, but the archbishop's bailiffs did all, except that the king's and the Lord E.'s bailiffs always handed to the archbishop's bailiffs at St Sepulchre's abstracts and summonses by their writs received from the sheriff and exchequer; and also that in the four principal pleas the prince's and the archbishop's bailiffs always made attachments jointly.

103 (268).—INQUISITION AT CASTLE KEVYN

Names of the jurors sworn at Castle Kevin to tell the truth upon the articles exposed to them: Thomas, prior of St Saviour's, Glindelache, . . . prior of the great church, Glindelache, Donohu, prior de Rupe ("Temple na Skellig," *Teamputt na Sceitge*) by Glindelache, Sir William English (*Anglicus*), Gilbert de Bevso, Richard Lailes, Thomas Lailes, William Doggett, John de Horseye, Richard de Cesterham, Elias Othothel, Symon Othothel, Molawelyne McDuille, Thomas Chapman, Richard Mitrawe, Philip Miave, John Wilens, John Lukere, Robert Lukere, Rubtus Oclonir (or Oclouir), Richard the clerk, John Crumpe, Molkaille Omaille, Padyne Regane, Adam Hille, Aleuane Obigaunne (?), Molleuch Orothegane, Moliae Omolegane.

Sworn and questioned, they say that no waived person of the king or the Lord Edward was received within the archbishop's tenement. Any persons waived in the archbishop's court received and found in the tenement they are detained and delivered by the archbishop's bailiffs. In the time of William Pirron, Bishop of Glindelach, Elias Borbatus, Simon Barbatus and Brubarbatus (*sic*) Englishmen, were all waived for stealing nags and kine, and for killing Caym Otonyn's daughter, whom they did kill, and they returned afterwards to the peace of the said William, Bishop of Glindelach, for their monies which they gave him before Richard Nocte, then Seneschal. Gerard son of Maurice, an Englishman, was waived in Bishop William's tenement and in the king's court in King John's time, and by the judge of the king's court he returned to the

peace of the Lord W. for his money which he gave him before Meiler son of Henry, then justiciary. Donohoe Magillemeholmoc slew Roger son of Gilbert, an Englishman, and the said Bishop W. took redemption thereof in the time of the said seneschal.

In Archbishop Henry's time, Doneuilt McDeneuilt and Convyne MacDeneuilt killed Walter son of Hugh Lawles, an Englishman, and they were waived for that offence in the archbishop's court and returned to his peace for their monies which they paid him before Elias Drolde,¹ then seneschal.

In Archbishop Luke's time, Walter Garnan, an Englishman, was waived for theft, and afterwards returned to the archbishop's peace before Geoffrey de Elyne, then seneschal. In the land of David the clerk at Likin and Myneglas robbers were often received, and one Walter, David's brother, was in their company, and Richard de Carricke and his following lay in wait for those robbers, killed and beheaded them, and brought their heads to the castle, but David's brother Walter escaped along with a woman and fled; he was waived, and returned afterwards to Archbishop Luke's peace for his money, which he gave him in the time of the said seneschal; and for that offence [of receiving], David's land remained in the archbishop's hand as his escheat. These were Englishmen, and the king did not set his hand to that land, and Archbishop L. afterwards gave it to William English (*Anglicus*), who now holds it. William Carricke, an Englishman, was waived for theft, and afterwards returned to Archbishop L.'s peace for his money which he gave him in the said seneschal's time. Elias Mihave was waived for theft and returned to Archbishop L.'s peace, *ut supra*.

Questioned also whether the archbishop's bailiffs always made view, without the king's coroners, of persons killed, whether dead or drowned, and took inquests and buried them, they say yes. In Archbishop Luke's time, Walter Wyllens, an Englishman, was drowned at Inuerchelle [Ennereilly, Co. Wick.], and an inquest having been held as usual, the archbishop's [bailiffs] buried him, Stephen de S^{to} Albano being then seneschal and Elias Othoel, serjeant of the country. Richard son of Ralph, by name Pelletar (? *Pelliparius*, skinner), an Englishman, was drowned at Cestricronin; an inquest was held as above and he was buried. An Englishwoman, by name Couilda, was killed in a pit² . . . (*in quodam foramine Sallanis*), because a great deal of earth fell on her, and inquest being held as above, she was buried; and the king's coroners never made view of persons killed whether dead or drowned.

Questioned also whether any bailiff of the king was accustomed

¹ Harold.

² Sandpit (?).

to make summons or attachment in the archbishop's tenement, they say no ; only at St Sepulchre's there is an attorney of the archbishop's deputed to receive from the king's bailiffs in writing the names of those to be summoned or attached before the justiciaries. But it once happened in Archbishop Luke's time that a sergeant of the king's, Herbert by name, came to Boherrir to Richard de Carricke's house to serve a summons on the king's behalf. Archbishop Luke had sentence given on him at once, and the said H. was accordingly removed from his office, and nevertheless he had to give satisfaction to the archbishop in the time when Geoffrey de Marsco (*sic*) was justiciary.

Questioned whether the predecessor of Archbishop F[ulk], who then was, always had duel of felony and homicide, they say yes, and that all his predecessors, both bishops and archbishops, always had such duel.

Questioned whether any fugitive to the church was watched by the archbishop's tenants and delivered by his bailiffs or by the king's, they say, not by the king's bailiffs, but always by the archbishop's. Peret Dridorenane wounded an Englishman, and therefore he put himself in the church of Kilmoholmoc during Archbishop Luke's time, by whose tenants he was watched, and he abjured the archbishop's tenement before his bailiffs, the then seneschal being Master Hugh de Glindelache, afterwards Bishop of Ossory. William Mason (*Cementarius*) fled to the church of Dergory because he had wounded his mate Roger, and he was delivered as above ; this happened often, and the king or any of his officers never set [hand] to this.

Questioned whether the predecessors of Archbishop F., who now is, pleaded all pleas except the four pleas of the crown, they say yes, and that all his predecessors, bishops and archbishops, always pleaded all pleas by their own bailiffs, except the four pleas of the crown.

Questioned whether the archbishop's bailiffs took at once into his hand as his escheat the lands both of homicides and of felons or thieves, they say yes, and that neither the king nor any in his place set his hand to this, as appears above.

105 (272).—INQUISITION AT BALIMOR¹

Names of the jurors sworn to tell the truth concerning the customs and liberties used in the time of the predecessors of the Lord F[ulk], now Archbishop of Dublin : Alexander le Hore, William

¹ There are three similar "qweisters," but the original of this first one we have not seen, 1533. *Alen's note.*

Blund, Robert Dodyng, Alexander de Gamage, Adam de Castro, Herbert the clerk, Master John Fader, Robert son of Symon, William Drakes, Henry Lamberde, David son of Robert, Paulinus de Balimore, Richard Black of Orevebri [= Creuelpi, Crehelp, Co. Wick.], John Mancelle, John Midforde, Philip Howelle, Alexander Godfraye, Eustace Tillas, Sthus. Annercy, Walt. Fader, Laur. Blunde, Edward son of Thomas Dandokes, Adam son of Thomas, Peter son of Andrew, Robert son of William, William Doghe, William Penlyn, Robert Russelle, Walter le Flemyng, Nicholas Blund, Richard son of Henry, Ralph of Rathmore, Philip Meylyne, Walt. le prute, Adam Long, Cadmus Judas.

They say on their oath that no one waived in the court of the king or of the Lord Edward was or is ever received in the tenement of F., Archbishop of Dublin. In the time of H., Archbishop of Dublin (Richard de la Cornere being then seneschal and William de Fynglas then bailiff of Ballimore), William de Smale killed William le Stiwer and absconded, and being called afterwards from court to court, &c., he did not come, &c., accordingly by judgment of the court he was waived from the archbishop's tenement and his land was taken into the archbishop's hand as escheat, who gave it to Henry de Castro [to hold] by service, and he still holds it. In the same archbishop's time (Robert Luttrell being seneschal and William de Fynglas, constable), Adam Mancelle, an Englishman, when on horseback killed Crisbiana, daughter of Leronays, and he fled to the church, and he afterwards returned to the archbishop's peace for fine made, and the horse which he was then riding remained to the lord's use, so that no king's officer intervened or made view.

In Archbishop Luke's time (Geoffrey de Glyne [*read* Elyne] being then seneschal and Hugh Barbedor constable), Walter Josselyn and Thomas Josselyne killed Edmund Scot, an Englishman, and absconded, and being called from court to court, did not appear, &c. They were accordingly waived in the court, and returning thereafter they were at the lord's peace, having made fine.

2. Likewise in Archbishop H.'s time (R. de la Cornere being then seneschal) Roger de Pantun was drowned in the river of Avenliffey, Richard de Anglic' was drowned in the same water, and [so were] many others. In Archbishop L.'s time Gilbert Tappellione¹ was killed by earth in a sand pit; John son of Nicholas de Stokes was killed by a horse, and many others were killed accidentally. They were always buried by view of the archbishop's bailiffs without the king's bailiffs.

3. The king's bailiffs were always wont to come to St

¹ *Tabellio*, scrivener.

[Sepulchre's] to the archbishop's bailiff¹ deputed for this purpose, and he committed to other bailiffs throughout the archbishopric [*i.e.*, the cross lands, not the diocese] the levying of the king's due and the making of summonses and attachments; and if at any time it happened that any bailiff of the king's secretly and unlawfully entered the archbishop's tenement to make summonses and attachments, they were always opposed; and he punished some of them by ecclesiastical censure, among whom was Gilbert Doget, punished for this offence by judgment of the church.

4. In Archbishop H.'s time (Richard de la Cornere being seneschal) William Long of Crevelpi appealed Peter Godson for detaining 14 ells of woollen broad-cloth; so that a duel was waged in the archbishop's court; W. withdrew afterwards, and so in prison, &c. In Archbishop Luke's time Hugh le Horsmongere, an Englishman, appealed Gillekarane for a horse; a duel was prosecuted, H. was overcome, and so was hanged. Walter de Wynterbur appealed John de Toker for robbery by night, &c. John defended, and put himself on inquisition, and was acquitted; so W. in prison.

5. Also in Archbishop Luke's time (Hugh de Glyndelache being seneschal), John Carraghe killed Roger le Hyne, an Englishman, fled to the church, and abjured the archbishop's land before his bailiffs without presence of the king's coroner and bailiffs. W. the miller of Hollywood killed Andrew the miller, and abjured the archbishop's land in presence of his bailiffs. Kellache O'Sulane for theft and Karraghe O'Rotheagane and Tathiges O'Madan for the same fled to the church and abjured the archbishop's land in presence of his bailiffs without the king's bailiffs.

6. In the time of the predecessors of F. now archbishop it was customary to plead all pleas in the archbishop's court except the four pleas which the king reserved to himself, and except pleas of land by writs save writs *de recto*.

7. In Archbishop Luke's time Hugh Le Porte, who lived at Baliodal near Ballymore, and held half a carucate of land there from the archbishop, was detained in Dublin Castle for default of plea for a certain matter; in the castle he killed Jordan the janitor of the castle. He was accordingly hanged, and his land remained in the archbishop's hand as his escheat. The king's bailiffs never set hand on it, and Archbishop Luke gave it for his service to Andrew Gamage, a sergeant of his, who holds it still.

While the see was vacant [1255-6] Adam Phug' of Anhemelache and Nicholas his brother killed Thomas Paris, chaplain, in the time

¹ This is a prerogative of the chief bailiff (who is bailiff in fact and name) the others are now called merely servitors. *Allen's note*.

of Robert Anketill, the king's escheator. Adam was taken and hanged, and his land was taken into the escheator's hand as an escheat of the archbishopric, and in course of time it came into Archbishop F.'s hand, and Nicholas, who had fled, was waived in the archbishop's court; and so it often happened with many other lands.

8. In Archbishop H.'s time, Woronor, a Welshman, killed an Englishman, Arnold son of Christiana Le Grete, and he was taken in the fact (? *cum manuopere*) and imprisoned, and there redeemed himself before Elias Haraud, seneschal, and John Comyn, constable. In the same archbishop's time (Richard de la Cornere being seneschal) Reg' Orm, being indicted for theft, absconded, and he returned again to peace, fine being made through friends. In Archbishop Luke's time (Geoffrey Elun being seneschal and Hugh Barbedor constable) Robert Long of Ballyloman and Walter Slab¹, his son, were indicted for theft, taken and imprisoned, and they made fine to have the lord's peace for 60 marks; Waler' de Welesleg and Hugh de Lega [the king's judges] were present at that court by the archbishop's request. On the same day Arnold de Logetune and Arnold his son were indicted for the like; taken and imprisoned, they made fine for 20^l. Waleran de Welens', who then had Hollywood in farm from Sir E. de Marisco took for his own use 10 marks from the said Robert Long for the same offence, because he had half a carucate of the tenement of Hollywood. In Archbishop Luke's time Waler' de Wallens' held Hollywood to farm, and William Algare took away a horse of Philip the clerk's from his house; which horse he had first taken in pledge for a debt, and afterwards gave over of his own accord to a horseboy of the said Philip to harness; and because he took it from Philip's house without his leave, he kept out of the way until he had made peace with Sir Waler' for 20^l.

In Archbishop L's time (E. Elun (*sic*) being seneschal and Hugh Barbedor constable), John de Naas de Fotherde stole 12 cows [*read probably "stole 12 cows out of Forth"*] from Geoffrey Kent and took them to Donbokes to Hugh's house; one and the other being taken, John for stealing, and Hugh for receiving, John afterwards made fine through friends with the lord. A horseboy, William Carpenter's son of Aghgarū, took away as far as Donlovane a horse belonging to one Heis of Kilkenni, for 5s., in which he was bound to him. Heis of Kilkenny followed the horse to Donlovane, had the horseboy attached and prosecuted him, and he at length made fine with the archbishop for 4 marks by means of William, his father, and William de Waymbe, and the archbishop's bailiff bought the horse for a mark.

¹ *Slab*, a soft-fleshed person, *Dinneen*. In Irish-English a "Slob," a soft, indolent person.

3. When summonses or attachments were to be made the king's and the Lord E.'s bailiffs always came to St Sepulchre's to the bailiff for the time being and delivered all summonses and attachments to him, because he was deputed thereto ; and it was for him to entrust them for execution to other bailiffs throught the archbishopric.

4. Hugh de Horsmang[er], an Englishman, the baron of Naas's man, came to Ballymore and appealed a man of the archbishop's, an Irishman, for a stolen horse. Thereupon duel was waged there and fought, and the Irishman killed the Englishman, Robert son of Nicholas being then seneschal.¹ Gyllakyne O'Kernekcs, an Irishman, Walter de Redellesforde's man, came to 'Tauell' and appealed Gillemolron McMankane, the archbishop's man, still living, for felony ; they fought a duel at Tauell', Geoff. de Eline being seneschal and John Patrike bailiff. They say also that if a duel between Englishmen took place within the archbishopric, the archbishop's predecessors were always accustomed to have it.

5. An Irishman, name unknown, killed Osbert de Lunpute (or Limpute) of Newcastle in the middle of the vill of Clond. ; he fled to the church in the vill, and Josephe Albine, Archbishop Luke's bailiff, came there and made him abjure the archbishop's land without coroners, Master H. de Glindelache being seneschal.

Richard Le Holdere, another Englishman, still living in the vill of Clond', stole the archbishop's grain ; he was thereupon taken and imprisoned ; he broke gaol and fled to the church. Robert Le Stot (or Scot), then bailiff, came there and made him abjure the archbishop's land. He came back in course of time and made fine towards Master Hugh de Glindelach, then seneschal, to have peace after abjuration, and he is still at Clondolkane.

6. The archbishops always held all pleas by their own bailiffs, except the four pleas of the crown, and they were begun in the time of this archbishop's predecessors. Archbishop F. never used any liberties other than his predecessors did.

7. In Archbishop Luke's time Adam Mananach, who had land in the vill of Clondolkan, stole grain ; he left his land on this account. Master H. de Glindelache immediately took it into the lord's hand, and Archbishop Luke gave it to his provost,² Richard Bege, whose heirs hold it. Walter Jacobe of Rathcoole killed a stranger at Rathcule, and this Jacobe had a dwelling and land, which he left on account of the homicide, and the land was taken at once into the

¹ This is also told near the top of the 3rd sheet of the Ballymore Inquisition to which it seems properly to belong : see p. 99 *supra*.

² Praepositus, *i.e.*, balliivs, *Alen*.

lord's hand in Archbishop Luke's time, and he gave it to Simon Marescall, Walter de Evereys being seneschal ; and the king never set hand to these lands.

8. In Archbishop H.'s time Thomas Galmadre and Richard his brother, Englishmen, killed Elias Leskenn', an Englishman, and made fine to have peace.

It is evident enough above that an Englishman made redemption for theft, Robert Lutterelle and Richard de la Cornere being then seneschals.¹

9. They also say that in all circumstances Archbishop F.'s predecessors always used their liberties hitherto, except the four pleas of the crown, &c.

61 (166).—INQUISITION MADE AT SWERDES

Jurors : Sir Hugh de Bellinges², John Alexander's [son]², Peter Salter (*salsarius*)², John de Grane, William de Grane², Ralph Morond, Kedide Somerd, Laur. Bann, Robert de Lamer, Thomas Russell, Thomas de Somenn, Adam Walsh (*Walens*), John Walsh (*Wallens*) Roger Maceduges, Roger de Mora, Richard the Clerk², John de Kilreske, Robert de Bec, William Furet', William de Louhc, Luke Mackie', William MacWithir, David Mourige, Robert de Thomann, John de Fullpote, Henry de Crutelache, Richard de Strayford, Walter Randes, Robert Young (*Juuen*)², Michael Forestar, Auelan Wrwogane, Fyntan de Luske, Henry Sthabane (*or* Schabane), Thomas Trussell, Stephen Young (*Juuenis*) and Robert de Rathmoni and Hugh de Russe.

They say on oath that one Rywathlonde, a Welshman, was slain by Madoc Maccursye, who fled, and was afterwards waived in the court of Archbishop John.

In the same archbishop's time Will. Galrote was constable of Swerdes and was slain at the gate of the court of Swerdes, and he was buried without the king's coroners or serjeants.

In the said John's time Hugh Hauckeman appealed Meiler Walshe (*Walens*) for a horse stolen from him ; Meiler was attached in the archbishop's court and denied [the charge], and Hugh followed his appeal. They had a duel in the vill of Swerdes, and Hugh overcame Meiler, who was afterwards hanged by the judge of the archbishop's court.

In the said John's time two Englishmen stole two cows in Meath and came through the land of Sir Michael de Angulo, who followed

¹ Note : two seneschals. *Alen*.

² These names appear in Archbishop Fulk's list of Feoffees by Charter.

them ; they fled and placed themselves in the church of Swerdes, and next day abjured the archbishop's land before his bailiffs.

In the said John's time Wydde de Cestria slew Ralph le Wrier in the town of Swerdes, and fled the country, and the archbishop gave William Norenc a burgage that Wid held.

In Archbishop Henry's time Samson de Crumba slew Laur. Bissop in the vill of Swerdes, for whose death he made fine with the archbishop, and was afterwards constable of Swords for a long time. Ralph de Boly slew Hugh Walsh (*Walens*) in the vill of Swerdes, and Hugh's brothers Madoc and David appealed the said Henry [*read* Ralph] for Hugh's death, and they made peace in the archbishop's court. A ship was wrecked in the harbour of Porrahelyne [Portrane], and over twenty men were drowned there, and Ric. de la Cornere, the archbishop's seneschal viewed them and buried them.

In Archbishop Luke's time Alexander Markeky was waived for felony in the lord's court, and he came afterwards and lived on the archbishop's land at William MacWither's house and after that he came thence on the king's land and was slain there. John Brekedent was waived for homicide and theft in the king's court, and lived afterwards at Ratheculle on the archbishop's land, by whose bailiffs he was there taken and brought to Dublin to his court and hanged there by judgment of his court.

The king's sergeants have never entered into the archbishopric of Dublin to take persons waived, and though such persons were living there they were never delivered to the king's bailiffs.

In Archbishop Luke's time, Peter son of Osbert Wran was waived by the judge of his court for theft. Alexander de Villa Mackarpyn was waived by the judge of the archbishop's court because he killed Tathet de Connaht. Richard Norenc killed his wife Juliana at Glumethane [Clonmethan, Co. Dub.] and was waived in the archbishop's court, and Archbishop Luke gave Thomas de Clafford the land that Richard held in fee. Alexander Dandun was killed near Grana (Archbishop Luke's land). Will the Dispenser (*dispensator*) was killed at Holpatrike, Henry, clerk of Grace Dieu, was killed near Swerdes, Jordan de Uriel was found dead near Grana, Richard Gastun was drowned near Broadmeadow (*magnum pratum*), Osbert Thowy was killed in the vill of Swerdes, Richard Cas and Maurice de Grathelach¹ were killed at Glumethane, and never any of the king's coroners or sergeants took view of the aforesaid, but always Archbishop Luke's bailiffs viewed and buried them. John Bernerge for theft and Robert Butum for theft put themselves in the church of Swerdes, and they abjured Archbishop Luke's land before his

¹ Grallagh, Co. Dublin.

bailiffs. William Brun put himself in the church of Holy Trinity, Dublin, for theft, and came thence to the church of Swerdes, and there made peace with Archbishop Luke. Adam Dun made peace in Archbishop Luke's court for theft. Wrgan Young (*Juuenis*) of Glumethane made peace for theft of grain with Archbishop Luke for 100s.

Never did sergeants of the king enter the archbishop's tenement in the time of the aforesaid archbishops, to make any summonses or views except to the bailiff of St Sepulchre's, Dublin; and the bailiff there committed the king's precept to other bailiffs. But once it happened that Henry Tirell, junior, and William son of Matthew, the king's sergeants, came to Sir Laur. de Bodenham's house [at Swords] seeking Sir Meiler de Cursum's heir, who was in Laurence's guardianship, and because he would not deliver the said heir to them they cited him to Dublin; Laurence shewed this to Archbishop Luke, who excommunicated the sergeants throughout the archbishopric, and they came to him afterwards and were cudgelled round the church of Swerdes.

They say likewise that all predecessors of the archbishop that now is held all pleas, except the four pleas, by their own bailiffs; and this began in Archbishop John's time, and Archbishop Henry and Luke always did so afterwards.

63b (170).—1264, JUNE 18

Inquisition at the parliament of Tristeldermod Wednesday after the feast of Holy Trinity, 48 Henry III, before Sir Richard de Rupell, chief justice of Ireland, Sir Hugh de Tachmone, Bishop of Meath, treasurer, Sir Frenmund le Brun, chancellor, Sir Geoffrey de Genevile, Master William de Bakepir, escheator, Sir Thomas de Yppegrave (or Yppegrane), and many others, on the taking of pleas of the crown and liberties, which, as was said, Fulk, archbishop of Dublin, in his time took of his own will to the loss and prejudice of the Lord Edward and his liberties, made by oath of the underwritten, viz. :

John Lowe, Robert de Stafford, William de Bendevill, William de Prendelgast, Andrew Auevell, Walter Purcell, William Wayspayll, Gilbert de Lesse, John de Triuers, Peter Reuger, Thomas son of Leonisius, Richard son of Rither, Walter son of Alured, Peter de Kermerdyr, David de Borarde, William de Alneto, Fulk son of Walter, Ric. le Moynes, Philip de Archedeknei, Roger de Troye, Walt. Smethe, Nicholas Cheuers, Henry Melerbe, Roger le Poere, John de Dene and Will. de Cantincun :

Who, being sworn say that Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, Fulk's predecessor, had and pleaded in his court pleas of the crown, as of

death, murder, slaying of Englishmen and all others, larceny, robbery, duel of Englishmen and all others of the land, felony, abjuration of fugitives to the church in the land of the Archbishopric of Dublin, taking redemption for felony done there, granting peace to felons, waiving and outlawing felons, and having their lands for a year and a day, and after a year and a day appropriating them to the archbishop and others of whom they were held, viewing and burying the drowned, both English and all others dead by misadventure, without the king's coroner but by the bailiffs of the archbishop, who has pleaded in his court all the pleas of the crown except fore-stalling, rape, treasure-trove and arson. Master Robert Anketin and other escheators of the king did the same while the see was vacant by Luke's death until Fulk was created Archbishop of Dublin.

The king's sergeants come and were wont to come to the archbishop's mansion¹ of St Sepulchre's to make summonses, distrainments and attachments on the king's behalf, enjoining execution thereof on the archbishop's bailiffs, and this was done by the archbishop's bailiffs at the sergeants' demand. All writs of chancery, except writ patent *de recto*, are and ought to be pleaded in the king's court and not in the archbishop's.

Archbishop Luke died seised of the said pleas in right of his church, and Archbishop Fulk made no purpresture thereof, but used them as his predecessor and the king's escheators had done also during vacancy of the see.

And they affixed their seals in perpetual testimony.

Note by Alen :—

The bailiff's office is concerned with three things	{	summonses distrainments attachments	}	Not cognisance of causes privatively, but cumulatively; it is otherwise with the citizens of Dublin. Nay, the Earl of Kildare has not 'cognizaunce of causes,' 1532.
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60b (165).—PLEAS OF THE CROWN BEFORE WALTER DE CUSAKE AND HIS ASSOCIATES, JUSTICES IN EYRE, ON THE MORROW OF ST MARTIN 4 ED. RETURN OF THE JURY CONCERNING SWERDS

The jurors present that the Archbishop of Dublin has gallows and coroners, and takes wreck of the sea and waif (*weyn*), and holds pleas *de retito namio* and bloodshed; and holds Englishmen in prison and takes fines from them for burglary, receiving and usuries (*usuris*). And has correction of bread and ale, and has ells, pound and bushel and gallon by the king's standard and under the king's

¹ It is a mansion, a manor, too, and a palace; not an honour like Balimor. *Alen*.

seal. In the archbishop's lordship all his tenants take all measures under his seal, and if there should be defect, the Archbishop and his bailiffs will make correction. And he holds all pleas in his court save fore-stalling, rape, arson and treasure-trove.

Of the new customs they say that all the seneschals of the Archbishop of Dublin after [Abp.] John de Derlington's death [† 1234] chose Englishmen *et libtat* (? *et liberos*, freemen) to do the office of provost against the will of the said Englishmen, and they chose two or three and took gifts for releasing office, and he holds one in the said office against his will. Saving Sir Hugh de Croff' because he came late.

45 (133).—1395, APRIL 5

King Richard II grants and confirms to Robert, Archbishop of Dublin, at his entreaty, legal jurisdiction which he claims his predecessors had, viz. : soka and saka, toll and theave, infangentheff, outfangentheff, pleas of homicide, murder, slaying of Englishmen ; all manner of robberies, larcenies, duels of Englishmen, abjurations of those fleeing to the church and of felons ; taking fines and redemptions in his courts for felonies, waiving and outlawing felons ; having a year and a day of his lands ; waste of his lands, tenements and rents ; making his coroners from time to time, and by them, without the king's coroner, view and burial of Englishmen and all others drowned and slain by mischance : justification, correction and punishment of craftsmen and labourers ; the taking of fines and redemptions from those convicted or found guilty in his courts in respect of any article contained in the king's statutes and ordinances for craftsmen and labourers ; all pleas of the crown save forestalling, rape, treasure-trove and arson ; to have courts on all these franchises, liberties and privileges, to be held by seneschal or seneschals ; full return and execution of all king's writs and precepts for summons, visitation and attachment within the lordships, manors and cross of the archbishopric ; view of frankpledge ; assise of wine, bread and ale of his standards ; ells, weights, bushels, gallons, yards and other weights and measures—the clerk of the market and keeper of measures to enter but once a year to view the archbishop's standards ; to take fines and corrections from his tenants, and further to do all that pertains to the clerk of the market and keeper of measures within his lordships, manors and cross ; pleas *de vetito nameo* ; and all pleas to court baron pertaining ; a fishing-boat for salmon on the Aviliffy ; freedom for him and his men from local imposts, general aids and amerciements ; [*certain fairs and markets*] ; a pillory, tumbrel and thewe in the places and manors underwritten, viz. :

St Pulcher's, Swerdis, Fynglas, Clondolkane, Ballymore, Shenegh-kille and Castlekevynne.

Witnesses, &c.

By the King's own hand, Kilkenny: 5 April, A° 18°.

47b (138).—1493, Aug. 8

Inspeximus by Henry VII of letters patent of Henry IV certifying on inspection of the Irish Chancery Rolls of Richard II that Richard made letters patent of legalities,¹ &c. (*ut supra*, 5 April, 1395), to Robert, Archbishop of Dublin, which are now exemplified and confirmed at Archbishop Walter's request.

Westminster, 8 Aug., A° 9°

R. WARHAM

¹ At the clause for granting peace to felons, Alen notes: "See: pardon by the metropolitan, along with a gallows and the other three 'pillory, coking stole & kage.' Note there are five manners or ways of delivering from prison. What is Thew (with the other two above [*i.e.*, pilory and tumbrel])? What else but 'cage,' as in practice.

Metropolitan's threefold title { archbishop
primate
dean

Judges { spiritual, 4, above
temporal, 4, above

the king's men { lieges
our faithful people
to the king's { murders—homicides
robberies—of all kinds
ministers { larcenies—without violence
duel of Englishmen

The archbishops
make these officers { seneschal
coroners for { abjurations
killed } burial on view of the body.
drowned }
bailiff
constable
serjeants
clerk of the market and keeper of measures.

FIACHA MAC AODHA UI BHROIN AND DOMHNALL
SPÁINNEACH CAOMHÁNACH

By GUSTAVUS E. HAMILTON

[Read 30 MARCH 1915]

A LATIN inquisition taken at Ballinacor on 16 January, 1605, is interesting, as it discloses the exact date and place of the death of that "Battle-banner of the Gael," Fiacha mac Aodha mic Sheain Ui Bhroin, and also sets out the names of his lands. The Branaigh or O'Byrnes, driven by the Anglo-Normans from their original territory of Magh Life, succeeded in maintaining their position in their new possessions in the present County Wicklow until the very end of the 16th century. They were always a thorn in the side of the inhabitants of the southern part of the Pale, but Fiacha mac Aodha is the only individual member of the clan who has left his mark on history. He did not belong to the senior branch of the clan, whose head resided at "an Iubhrach," now Newragh *alias* Newrathbridge near Ashford.¹ The territory of the senior branch of the clan was called *Crioch Branach* or "the Birnes' Country," and comprised the whole of the present Barony of Newcastle, together with that part of the Barony of Arklow lying north of the *Inbhir Dhaoile* or Ennereilly. They also possessed the district known as *Cois Abha* or "the Cosha," which was bounded on the north by the R. Ow and its continuation the Aughrim River.² Fiacha mac Aodha was chief of the junior sept known as the *Gabhal Raghnaill*, whose territory, *anglice*, "the Ranelagh," comprised that part of the Barony of Ballinacor South, which is north of the R. Ow, and also the southern portion of the Barony of Ballinacor North as far north as Glendaloch.

The remainder of what is now the County of Wicklow, with the exception of the Barony of Shillelagh, which was a part of *Ui Ceinnsealaigh*, seems to have been in the 16th century all the territory of the *Tuathalaigh* or O'Tooles. This clann were divided into three septs, of whom one branch occupied the present Barony of Talbotstown in the west of the county; the other septs occupied the territories of *Feara Tíre* (Vartry) (that part of the Barony of Ballinacor North which is north of Castlekevin) and *Feara Cualann*

¹ O'Don. *A. F. M.*, p. 1702.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1702.

(about Powerscourt, in the Barony of Rathdown).¹ Although the extent of the country of the Tuathalaigh was greater than that of the Branaigh, they were never so prominent in history, and at the present day the surname of O'Toole or Toole is much rarer than that of O'Byrne or Byrne, which is probably the commonest name in County Wicklow and in Dublin and its neighbourhood. When the jury-panel is being called at Wicklow Assizes or Quarter Sessions it is always necessary to add the names of their respective holdings to the names of the numerous jurors of the surname of Byrne in order to distinguish them.

The inquisition, which is to be found in *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatum Repertorium*, vol. i, tempore Jac. I, no. 8, sets forth as follows :—" Feogh McHugh Birne, of Ballinacor,² along with Walter Reogh FitzGerald³ of Cronehorne,⁴ Donell' Cavanagh otherwise called Donell' Spainagh, of Clonemullen,⁵ and others, on the 1st of May in the 38th year of the reign of the late Queen⁶ entered on rebellion. The aforesaid Feogh, on the 8th of May aforesaid was killed at Fananerin in Co. Dublin⁷ by the army of Sir John Chichester,⁸ and was then seized in fee of

¹ O'Don. *A. F. M.*, p. 1901. According to a deed of the year 1856 Luggelaw and Sally Gap were in the "Lordship of Fartrey and Manor of Castlekevin."

² Ballinacor, *Baile na Corra Móire* (Onom. Goedel), town of the great weir, O.S. 29. Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballinacor. The "Site of Phelim's Castle" is marked here.

³ Walter Riabhach FitzGerald was a noted leader of the Irish of Leinster; he was a first cousin once removed of "Silken Thomas" FitzGerald, 10th Earl of Kildare; his mother was Rose, one of the O'Tooles of Powerscourt. He married Margery, a daughter of Fiacha Mac Aodha Uí Bhroin. It does not seem to be correct to state that he participated in this particular rising, as it appears from the *State Papers* and *Carew MSS.* that he was betrayed to the English on the 7th of April, 1595, and hanged by them in Dublin three days later: see "Walter Reagh FitzGerald, a Noted Outlaw," by Lord Walter FitzGerald, *Journal*, 1898, 299.

⁴ Cronyhorn, *Crón na hEornan*, hollow of the barley, O.S. 47, Bar. Shillelagh, Par. Carnew.

⁵ Clonmullen, *Cluain Muilinn*, mill-meadow, O.S. 21, Bar. Forth, Par. Barragh, Co. Carlow.

⁶ This would be 1596, but the correct date is shown by the *State Papers* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* to be 1597.

⁷ Fananierin, *Fán an Iarainn*, slope of the iron (Joyce, *I. N. P.*, ii, 370), a large townland on the slope of the mountain on the west side of Glenmalure, south of Drumgoff Barracks, in Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballinacor. Co. Wicklow was not separated from Co. Dublin, until the beginning of James I's reign.

⁸ Sir John Chichester was the 4th son of Sir John Chichester of Raleigh in Devon, M.P., and younger brother of Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy. He was appointed Governor of Carrickfergus and of "the countries of both the Clandeboys" on the 4th of July, 1597. On 4th November he was killed at Altracken (now Aldreck) near Ballycarry, about three miles north of Carrickfergus, in a skirmish between his men and those of Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce, son of the famous Somhairle Buidhe Mac Domhnaill, and elder brother of Ragnall, 1st Earl of Antrim. See *Fiants, Elizabeth*, No. 6127; Burke's Peerage, Chichester, Bart.; *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1904, p. 6. *Cal. State Papers* (Ir.) 1597, pp. 441, 465.

the lands of Ballinacor, Lickine,¹ Grenan,² Ballinerahine,³ Ballinetoney,⁴ Claragheitragh,⁵ Ballyheig,⁶ Ballinecoole,⁷ Ballincargin,⁸ Ballyknockane,⁹ Corbally,¹⁰ Ballyshanterriff,¹¹ Ballincreiry,¹² Bally-Eustace,¹³ and Ballymorghduff,¹⁴ lying within the territory called Coolerannell¹⁵ in the said county, and of and in the lands of Knockrahan,¹⁶ Rahard,¹⁷ Glanmoriertagh,¹⁸ and the half town of Ballinegelock,¹⁹ half the town of Ballineparke,²⁰ and the town of Kilmacowe,²¹ . . . lying in the territory called the Birne's Country,²² three-quarters of the town and lands of Kilecloghran²³

¹ Lickeen, *Licín*, little-flagstone, O.S. 24, Bar. Ballinacor North, Par. Knockrath.

² Greenan Beg and More, *Griandán*, sunny spot, O.S. 29, 30, same Bar. and Par.

³ *Baile an Rathain* (?), town of the fern; there is now no townland of this name in Co. Wicklow.

⁴ Ballinatone Upper and Lower, *Baile na Tóna*, town of the backside, O.S. 29 30, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballinacor.

⁵ Clara More and Beg, *Clárach Íochtarach*, lower level-place (Joyce, *I. N. P.*, i, 428), O.S. 24, Bar. Ballinacor North, Par. Knockrath.

⁶ Ballyteige, *Baile Thaidhg* or *Baile Uí Thaidhg*, Tadhg's or O'Taidhg's town, O.S. 30, 33, 34, Bars. Ballinacor North and South, Pars. Knockrath and Moyne.

⁷ Ballinacoeley, *Baile na Cúile*, town of the corner, O.S. 30, Bar. Newcastle, Par. Glenealy.

⁸ Ballycarrigeen, *Baile an Chairrgin*, town of the little rock, O.S. 30, Bar. Ballinacor North, Par. Rathdrum.

⁹ Ballyknockan Upper and Lower, *Baile Cnocáin*, town of the little-hill, O.S. 30, 35, same Bar. and Par.

¹⁰ Corballis Upper and Lower, *Corr-bhaile*, small-round-hill town or odd town (Joyce, *I. N. P.*, iii, 252), O.S. 30, Bar. Ballinacor North, Par. Rathdrum.

¹¹ (?) Ballyshane, *Baile Sheáin*, Seán's town, O.S. 34, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballykine.

¹² (?) Ballygreen Upper and Lower, *Baile Críonaigh*, town of the withered land, (see Joyce, *I. N. P.*, ii, 352), O.S. 29, 34, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballinacor.

¹³ Ballyeustace, *Baile Iústais*, Eustace's town, O.S. 29, 34, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballykine.

¹⁴ Possibly *Baile Mhurchadha Dhuibh*, town of black Murchadh. I cannot identify this townland. cf., Ballymaghroe, which seems to be the "Ballymoghro-roe" = "Baile Mhurchadha Ruaidh," of *Fiants, Elizabeth*, 6262.

¹⁵ i.e., *Gabhal Raghnaill*.

¹⁶ Knockraheen, *Cnoc Rathain*, hill of the fern, or *Cnoc Ráithín*, hill of the little rath (ráithín is an element of many placenames in Counties Wicklow and Carlow), O.S. 12, 18, Bar. Newcastle, Par. Calary.

¹⁷ Raherd, *Ráth Ard*, high rath, O.S. 36, Bar. Arklow, Pars. Dunganstown and Ennereilly.

¹⁸ *Gleann Mhuirheartaigh*, Muirheartach's glen. There is now no townland of this name. Possibly Ballymurtagh, *Baile Mhuirheartaigh* (O.S. 35) in the Vale of Ovoca is the same place. Could *Gleann Mhuirheartaigh* be the Irish name for the Vale?

¹⁹ Ballinaclogh, *Baile na gCloch*, town of the stones, O.S. 25, 31, Bar. Arklow, Par. Glenealy.

²⁰ Fallinapark, *Baile na Páirce*, town of the pasture-field, O.S. 35, 40, Bar. Arklow, Par. Castlemacadam.

²¹ Kilmacoo Upper and Lower, *Cill Mochua*, S. Mochua's church, O.S. 35, Bar. Arklow, Pars. Castlemacadam and Redcross.

²² i.e., *Críoch Bhranach*.

²³ Killaclogher, *Coill a' Chloichreáin*, wood of the little-stony-place (cf. Killaclogher in Co. Galway), O.S. 34, 39, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Kilpipe. Fiacha O'Broin of Kilecloghran, 2nd son of Réamonn, 2nd son of Fiacha mac Aodha, was proclaimed a rebel and a price put on his head, 8th Feb., 1641: see O'Don. *A. F. M.*, p. 2018.

with its appurtenances in Cosha,¹ and certain parts of the town and lands of Mucklagh,² Coolelug,³ and Tomecoyle⁴ in Cosha aforesaid . . . half the town of Knockdosan,⁵ the town and lands of Tinakill,⁶ Fananerin and Cooleowre⁷ in Ranelagh,⁸ and the lands of Carrickechroy⁹ in the said county, James Wolverston¹⁰ claims as his right and hereditament, by the force of a certain deed . . . made by certain men of the 'nation' of Coolesimons."¹¹

Domhnall mac Donnchaidh Caomhánaigh, called Domhnall Spáinneach, was one of the leading men of the Irish of Leinster at this period. Although not of the senior branch of Clan Kavanagh, he was head of Sliocht Domhnaill Riabhaigh, the senior sept of the junior branch, and was 13th in descent from Domhnall Caomhánach, the founder of the clan, son of Diarmaid na nGall.¹² He was called "Domhnall Spáinneach," or "Spanish Donal," because when a boy he had been for four years in Spain with Thomas Stuckley, about A.D. 1572–1576.¹³ Stuckley had been one of the "English Captains" or Seneschals over the Kavanaghs, and had lived at the "Queen's House" in Leighlinbridge to guard the bridge over the Barrow. In 1580 Domhnall escaped from a great slaughter of the Kavanaghs

¹ i.e. *Cois Abha*.

² Mucklagh, *Mucklach*, the swine-haunt, O.S. 39, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Kilpipe. Fiacha mac Aodha's son, Réamonn or Redmond, is described in *Fiants, Elizabeth*, No. 6577, as "of Mocolagh."

³ Coolelug, *Cúl a' Luig*, back of the hollow (Joyce, iii, 240), O.S. 39, same Bar. and Par.

⁴ Tomecoyle, *Tuaim Cuill*, burial-mound of the hazel (Joyce, *I. N. P.*, i, 41), O.S. 39, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Preban. "Tom" or *tuaim* is an element of many names in North Wexford and South Wicklow. As well as the meaning of *tumulus* the dictionaries give the word those of "fence, fort, village, and homestead."

⁵ Knockadosan, *Cnoc a' Dosáin*, hill of the small-bush (Joyce, *I. N. P.*, iii, 437), O.S. 30, Bar. Ballinacor North, Par. Rathdrum.

⁶ Tinnakilly Upper and Lower, *Tigh na Coille*, house of the wood, O.S. 34, 39, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Ballykine.

⁷ I cannot identify this name. It can hardly be Coolmore (*Cúil Mhór*), big angle, O.S. 36, 41, Bar. Arklow, Par. Ennereilly, as this would be in *Crioch Bhranach* and not in *Gabhal Raghnaill*.

⁸ i.e., *Gabhal Raghnaill*.

⁹ (?) Carrick, O.S. 38, Bar. Ballinacor South, Par. Kilcommon. cf., Carrickeacroy in Cavan, which Joyce, *I. N. P.*, iii, 171, says is *Carraig cruaidhe*, rock of hardness, hard rock.

¹⁰ James Wolverston, of Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, was the son of George Wolverston, a native of Suffolk, who had been "English Captain" of *Crioch Bhranach*. James also owned property in Co. Wicklow. He died in 1609, leaving his widow, a daughter of Richard Archbold of Kilmacud, and four sons, of whom John, the youngest, who succeeded to lands near Newcastle, Co. Wicklow, married in 1625, a daughter of Féidhlim ÓBroin, the eldest son of Fiacha mac Aodha. See Ball's *County Dublin*, i, 118; O'Don. *A. F. M.*, p. 2018.

¹¹ The "nation of Coolesimons" were the *Branaigh* (O'Byrnes) of *Coill tSiomóin* Simon's wood (Kiltimon, O.S. 19, Bar. Newcastle, Par. Killisky), who were a family of the *Gabhal Dunlaing* or senior branch of the clan.

¹² *Leabhar Geinealach* of Mac Fírbhisigh, p. 473; Keating, *I. T. S.*, iv, 38, 70.

¹³ O'Don. *A. F. M.*, p. 2188.

made by Sir Thomas Masterson, the "English Captain" stationed at Ferns. Domhnall's father, Donnchadh mac Cathaoir Charraigh, had been seized by Sir Nicholas White in 1583 and executed. Domhnall was pardoned in 1585 and 1593. He offered to surrender his lands in order to obtain them from the Crown by grant, and on 2 March, 159 $\frac{5}{8}$, a commission was issued to enquire what lands he held in Co. Wexford.¹ He was again pardoned in March, 159 $\frac{6}{7}$, just before Fiacha mac Aodha's last rising. He took part in the rising of 1599-1600. His "country" in Co. Carlow was devastated by the Lord Deputy, Lord Mountjoy, in August, 1600, and on the 24th of that month he abandoned his allies at the Pass of Cashel (otherwise known as *Bearna na gCleite*, "the Pass of Plumes," from the English defeat there on 17 May, 1599), "came to the head of the army, and fell down on his knees to the Lord Deputy, and desired protection for 12 days, till he might come to Dublin, which was granted (for in that time his Lordship could do him no harm)."² He was pardoned in May, 1601, and finally on 16 October, 1602, but his lands seem to have been confiscated, because on 22 August, 1603, the English Privy Council wrote notifying the King's pleasure that he should be a pensioner at 10s. per day till he recover his rights or be better provided for. This pension he surrendered on 5 November, 1616, when he received a grant from the King of one marte-land and a half³ out of what had been the property of his ancestors. This grant included the townlands of Clonmullen, Barragh, Kilbrannish, and Carrickduff, all in the Parish of Barragh, and Barony of Forth, Co. Carlow. He married his cousin, Eleanor, daughter of Brian mac Cathaoir Chaománaigh of Borris and Polmonty, Co. Carlow, ancestor of the present head of Clan Kavanagh, Walter Mac Morrough Kavanagh of Borris. Domhnall Spáinneach died on 12 March, 1631, leaving one son, Sir Murchadh or Morgan, and five daughters—namely, Margaret, married Robert Hay of Tacumshin, Co. Wexford; Siubhán *alias* Juan, married Connall

¹ *Fiants, Elizabeth*, No. 5980.

² *A. F. M.*, 1600; *Cal. State Papers (Ir.)*, 1600, p. 397; Paper by Lord Walter FitzGerald, *Journal*, 1904, p. 199.

³ In *Cal. State Papers (Ir.)*, vol. 38, no. 48, it is stated that "Idrone is 67 martland, containing 335 plough lands." From this it would appear that in Co. Carlow a martland contained 5 ploughlands, or 600 Irish acres, taking 120 acres to the ploughland. On these figures Idrone would have contained 40,200 Irish acres, = 67,000 English acres, which is almost the present area of the Baronies of Idrone East and West—namely, 71,224 English acres. But a martland was also an *alias* for a ploughland or a carucate, for in 1586 "five ploughlands, commonly called martelands (containing each 40 acres arable and 80 acres pasture, wood, and stony mountain, with their appurtenances)," were set on lease by the Crown, and in 1589 these same lands (which were in Co. Carlow) were granted under the description of "five carucates of land or martlands, each containing 40 acres arable and 80 acres pasture, wood, and mountain." *Fiants, Elizabeth*, Nos. 4918, 5344.

O'Morchoe of Toberlomina, Co. Wexford ; Owney (? Úna), married Arthur Eustace of Ballancey, Co. Carlow ; Elizabeth, and Elinor.

The history of the descendants of Domhnall Spáinneach is typical of that of many families of the Irish gentry in the 17th and 18th centuries. His son, Sir Murchadh of Clonmullen, Knt., married Mary, daughter of Francis Eustace of Castle Martin, Co. Kildare. In 1634 he was elected to Strafford's Parliament, but for some informality the election was declared void. After the defeat of the Leinster Irish in April, 1642, by Ormond and Coote at the Battle of Kiltrush, in Co. Kildare, he fled, was attainted, and his property confiscated. He died in Spain. His elder son, Daniel, joined the Confederation of Kilkenny in 1646, and was attainted and died unmarried in Spain. His younger son, Colonel Charles Kavanagh of Carrickduff, raised a Regiment of Foot for James II, and his property was confiscated.¹ He married his distant cousin, Mary, daughter of Brian Kavanagh of Borris,² ancestor of Walter MacMorrough Kavanagh (*qui nunc est*) of Borris. Colonel Charles Kavanagh's son, Ignatius, was a Captain in the Irish Brigade in the French Service. He married Catherine, daughter of Andrew Browne of Galway, of the Castle Mac Garret family. His three sons, Nicholas, Andrew, and Charles, were living at Nancy in 1776.³

¹ *D'Alton's Army List.*

² It seems largely owing to the judicious attitude adopted by this Brian Kavanagh that his descendants, alone of all Clan Kavanagh, have succeeded in retaining their ancestral position and property to the present day. In the troubles consequent on the rising of 1641 he forfeited a great amount of property in the Baronies of Idrone and St. Mullins, Co. Carlow, and Bantry, Co. Wexford. He is registered as a Protestant in the *Books of Distribution* for Carlow and Wexford, and the restoration of his property was probably due to his religious profession. He was Sheriff of Co. Carlow in 1644, and died in 1662.

³ For many notices of Domhnall Spáinneach and his descendants, see the paper by Rev. James Hughes in the *Journal*, 1873, p. 282, and the accompanying Pedigree by Mr Hore.

THE SCULPTURED STONES FROM THE BRIDGE OF
ATHLONE, BUILT IN 1567, NOW IN THE CRYPT OF
THE SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN

By LORD WALTER FITZGERALD

[Submitted 28 APRIL, 1915]

THE sculptured stones, 43 in number, from the Elizabethan Bridge of Athlone were presented to the Royal Irish Academy, some of them in the year 1844, and others in 1863, by the Commissioners of Public Works. Most of these stones were built into a "Monument" erected on the southern parapet of the bridge, which was taken down and rebuilt by the Board of Works in 1843-4.

Descriptions, more or less complete and accurate, of the slabs in "the Monument" have appeared in :—

Mason's "Survey of Roscommon," 1819.

Weld's Survey, 1832.

Petrie, in *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. viii, 1861-4.

The Rev. J. S. Joly's "Old Bridge of Athlone," 1881.

Dr H. F. Berry's "Sir Peter Lewys, Ecclesiastic, Cathedral and Bridge Builder," 1902; dealing only with the two stones relating to Peter Lewys.

The earliest reference to a bridge at Athlone occurs in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 1120, and from that date till 1155 there are seven references to this bridge, made of hurdles or wicker-work. It was constructed by the O'Conors of Connacht for the invasion of Meath, and as often destroyed by the O'Melaghlin in defence of their kingdom.

From 1155 the *Four Masters* make no further mention of a bridge at Athlone till 1567, when they state that :—

The bridge of Athlone was built by the Lord Justice of Ireland, *i.e.*, Sir Henry Sidney.

This may have been the first stone structure, built to succeed former bridges of timber, as it is stated on one of the slabs that Sir Henry Sydney's bridge was "from the maine earth under the water erected," and that it was begun and finished in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, *i.e.*, in 1567.

It is not stated of what material the bridge of Athlone was constructed in the 13th century, though a few notices of it appear in the *Calendars of Irish Documents*.

In 1210, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich and Justiciary of Ireland, is stated to have erected here a royal castle, a bridge, and fortifications.¹

In 1233 the King instructed the Treasurer of Dublin to suspend the works at the Castle of "Reindon" (Randown) in the County Roscommon, in order that the money might be spent on completing the bridge at Athlone.²

Again in 1289 the bridge at this place was reported to be collapsing; and in the following year John de Saunford, Archbishop of Dublin and Justiciary of Ireland, had his expenses paid for travelling to Athlone to inspect and report on the damage.³

In all probability these bridges were of timber; had they been constructed of stone, in all likelihood the *Annals of the Four Masters* would have recorded the fact, as in the case of a stone bridge erected at Ballysadare, Co. Sligo, in 1360.

The Sir Henry Sydney connected with the stone bridge was the son of Sir William Sydney, chamberlain and steward to Henry VIII. He was appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in 1556, and lord-president of Wales in 1560. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1564, and was three times constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland. His death took place in 1586 at the age of 57.

In a Memoir of his services to the Crown, addressed in 1583 to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Henry describes how in 1566 he passed from Roscommon to Athlone and took the submissions of the O'Kellys of Hy Many, O'Maddens of Sil Anchia, and of O'Farrell Boy and O'Farrell Bane of Annaly. While in Athlone, he adds, "I gave order then for the making of the Bridge of Alone, which I finished, a piece found serviceable, I am sure durable it is, and I thinke memorable."⁴

The bridge was finished on the 2nd July, 1567; the contractor or surveyor being the Rev. Peter Lewys, and the overseer one Robert Dampport, both of whom will be referred to further on.

That this bridge was of great military importance in the operations against the Connacht clans is proved by an extract from a letter, dated 5th October in the same year, written by Terence Danyell (Turlough O'Donnell), Dean of Armagh, to William Cecil,

¹ Gilbert's *Viceroy's of Ireland*, p. 76.

² *Cal. of Docs., Ire.*, 1171-1251, p. 304.

³ *Ib.*, 1285-92, pp. 273 and 326.

⁴ Page 41, vol. iii of the old issue, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1855.

Lord Burghley, which states that "all Connaught was tamed by the building of the Bridge of Athlone."¹

In 1570 Edmund O'Fallon, merchant of Athlone, obtained from the Crown advantageous leases of premises in that town on condition of his building a corn mill of stone, roofed with tiles or slate; and before 1578 he had erected two water mills upon the bridge, and a castle at the West Meath end of it.² Later on the mills on the bridge increased in number: before 1597 two more had been built "upon the second next arch to Edmund O'Fallon's mills" by Dermot McGwyff, gent., of Athlone.³

The Connacht end of the bridge was guarded by the Castle, and near the latter stood, what is described in 1580 as, "an old ruinous tower covered with straw, called the Connaghte Tower."⁴

Before describing the old sculptured stones, mention may be made here of a mural slab bearing an inscription recording the re-building of the former bridge's centre. This slab is also in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, and the inscription on it reads:—

In the 4th year of y^e reign of our
Sov^r. Lord King George y^e 2^d, 1730
This Part of y^e Bridge, being 4 Arches in
y^e Center, was undertaken & rebuilt by
BENJAMIN PRICE
at y^e expence of y^e right Honble Lady
Katherine Jones & y^e Coration (sic) of Athlone,
the Honble Coll^l Rich^d St. George
Sovereign;
& y^e Work was compleated ye year following,
Will^m Handcock, Esq^r, Soverⁿ
Gust^s Handcock, Esq^r, Supervize^r.
Mr. John Plumer & Mr. Edwin Thomas,
Overseers.

Lady Katherine Jones, mentioned above, was the 3rd daughter of Richard, 1st Earl of Ranelagh, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and Governor of the Castle of Athlone, who died in 1711. Lady Katherine died unmarried in 1740; her sister Elizabeth was the wife of John, 18th Earl of Kildare.

The St. Georges were seated at Carrickdrumrush in the County Leitrim, and at Woodsgift, County Kilkenny. Members of this family represented Athlone in Parliament.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Ire.*, 1509-73, p. 346.

² *Fiants of Elizabeth*, Nos. 1650 and 3447.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 6119.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 3697.

The family of Handcock belonged to Twyford and Waterstown, in Co. West Meath.

In 1906, the then Director of the Dublin Science and Art Museum, Colonel G. T. Plunkett, kindly presented to me photographs of the more important stones from the old bridge of Athlone; from these photographs, the illustrations accompanying these notes were made. The stones at that time were placed in frames on the wall of the Gallery outside the entrance to the room containing the Royal Irish Academy's Collection of Antiquities; they are now placed in the crypt.

For convenience, in describing the sculptured stones, they will be grouped under Four headings, viz. :—

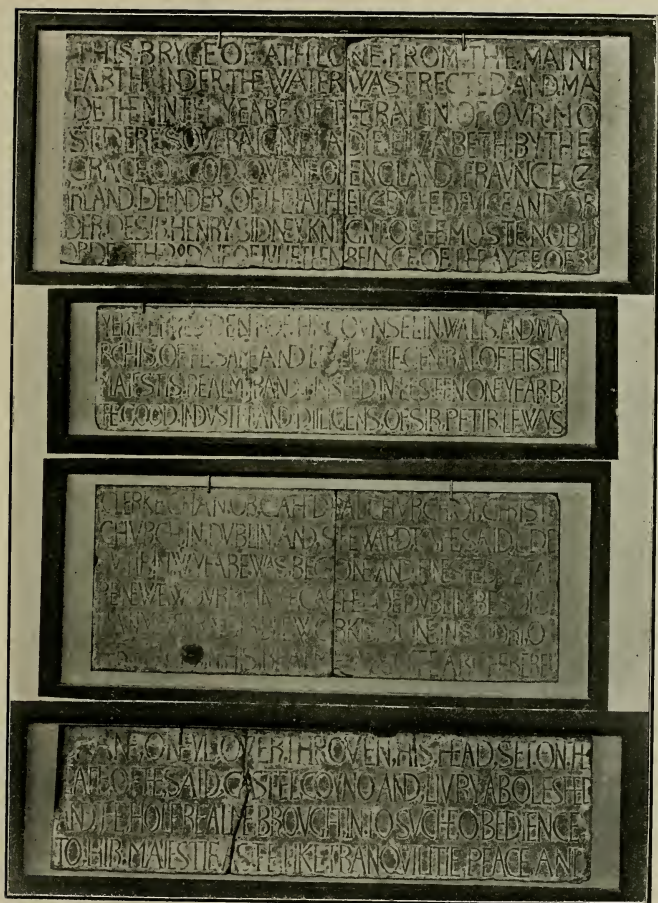
- I. The Sir Henry Sydney stones.
- II. The Queen Elizabeth stones.
- III. The Rev. Peter Lewys stones.
- IV. The Dampont stone.

THE SIR HENRY SYDNEY STONES (Plate VI, VII)

These include the long inscription (on four slabs) describing the erection of the bridge in 1567; a half length figure in armour of Sir Henry; his banner; his crest; and his coat of arms.

The Inscription (Plate VI).—These four slabs are 46½ inches in length, and range in height from 12 to 20 inches; the inscription is cut in raised Roman capitals from 2 to 2½ inches high, many of which are conjoined. Misspellings are numerous, as will be seen in the copy of the inscription here given :—

THIS BRYCE OF ATHLONE FROM THE MAINE
EARTH VNDER TE WATER WAS ERECTED AND MA
DE THE NINTH YEARE OF THE RAIGN OF OVR MO
ST DERE SOVERAIGNE LADIE ELIZABETH BY THE
GRACE OF GOD QVENE OF ENGLAND FRAYNCE
IRLAND DEFNDER OF THE FAITH ET C BY HE DEVICE AND OR
DER OE SIR HENRY SIDNEY KNIGHT OF HE MOSTE NOBIL
ORDER THE 2º DAIE OF IVLIE THEN BEINGE OF THE AYGE OF 38
YERE L PRESIDENT OF THE COVNSEL IN WALIS AND MA
RCHIS OF THE SAME AND L DEPVTE GENERAL OF THIS HIR
MAIESTIS REALME IRAND FINISHED IN LES TEEN ONE YEARE BI
TF GOOD INDVSTRI AND DILIGENS OF SIR PETIR LEWYS
CLERKE CHANTOR CATHEDRAL CHVRCH OF CHRIST
CHVRCH IN DVBLIN AND STEWARD TO TE SAID L DE
PVTE IN V YEARE WAS BEGONE AND FINISHED TE FAI
RE NEWE WOVRE IN TE CASTEL OE DVBLIN BESIDIS
MANY OTER NOTABLE WORKIS DONE IN SODRI O
TER PLACIS IN THIS REALME ALSO TE ARCHEREBEL
SHANE ONEYL OVER THROVEN HIS HEAD SET ON TE
GATE OF TE SAID CASTEL COYNO AND LIVRY ABOLISHED
AND TE HOLE REALME BROVGH IN TO SVCH OBDIEENCE
TO HIR MAIESTIE AS TE LIKE TRANQVILITIE PEACE AND



THE BRIDGE INSCRIPTION SLABS





THE SIR HENRY SYDNEY STONES

One, if not two, lines are missing at the end ; they are said to have been cut on the frame work surrounding the slabs ; according to Dr Petrie's report in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy (mentioned above), the missing portion reads :
WHICHE . IN . THE . MEMORY . OF . MANE . HATH . NOT . BENE . SENE.

The Effigy Slab (Plate VII, fig. 1).—This stone bears a half length figure of Sir Henry, holding a drawn sword in his right hand ; the left rests on his hip. The head at some period or other was chiselled away. Sir Henry's arms (described below) within the Garter occupy the right top corner of the stone, and below them on a panel is the sentence : IN . VIDIA . NOTIOR.

The Banner Stone (Plate VII, fig. 2).—On a plain shield, surrounded by the Garter, is carved a ragged staff. This device is explained as follows in Sir Henry's Memoir, already referred to, in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* :—

In the Christmas hollidayes I visited him (*i.e.*, Shane O'Neill, then in rebellion) in the harte of his country, where he had made as great an assemblie as he could, and had provided as great and good cheare as was to be had in the country, and when worde was brought to him that I was so nere him,—“That is not possible,” quoth he, “for the day before yesterday I know he dynded and sate under his cloth of estate in the hall of Kilmaynham.” “By O'Neyle's hand,” quoth the messenger, “he is in this country, and not farre off, for I sawe the redd Bracklok with the knotty clubb, that is carried before none but himself,”—meaning my pensell (pennon) with the ragged staff.

The Crest Stone (Plate VII, fig. 3).—On a similar shield, also surrounded by the Garter, is the Sydney crest—a porcupine with quills erect, having a chain fastened to a collar round its neck. In the bottom corners are the initials H. and S.

The Coat of Arms Stone (Plate VII, fig. 4).—This stone in a handsomely carved frame contains the Garter, and a shield bearing the Sydney arms quartered with those of Brandon, viz. :—

1 and 4 ; Or, a pheon azure, for Sydney.

2 and 3 ; Barry of ten argent and gules ; over all a lion rampant or, ducally crowned, for Brandon.

Sir Henry's grandfather, Nicholas Sydney, had married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Brandon, Knt, cousin of Charles, Duke of Suffolk. In the bottom corners of this stone are the initials H and S.

The present top portion of the frame of this stone properly belongs to one of the Queen Elizabeth stones, described further on, and *vice versa*, as the lintel now over the latter bears the Sydney family motto upon it:—QVO FATA VOCANT.

Sir Henry was invested with the Order of the Garter in 1564, hence its appearance on his family stones.

THE QUEEN ELIZABETH STONES (Plate VIII)

These are four in number :—

1. The Royal Arms surrounded by the Garter ; above them an imperial crown between the initials E and R. The lintel stone of the frame bears the Sydney family motto, and, as stated above, is in its wrong place here.
2. A much mutilated human bust, supporting a small shield bearing the initials E. R. surmounted by a crown.
3. Narrow slabs bearing the inscription :—

GOD SAVE (a heraldic rose) QWEN ELIZAB (remainder missing)

4. A slab with the text :—

GEVE . TO . CESAR . THAI (sic) . W .

IS . CESARS . AND . TO . GOD

THAT . WHICHE . IS . GOIS (sic) . MAT . 22

THE PETER LEWYS STONES (Plate IX)

These stones are two in number, on both of which Peter Lewys is shown in full length, bearded and in clerical costume ; in both, too, on his outstretched hand he carries a small animal which has been identified as a porcupine, the crest of his patron and employer, Sir Henry Sydney.

On one stone there is an inscription of three lines in raised letters, which read :—

. E . . R . .

PETRVS

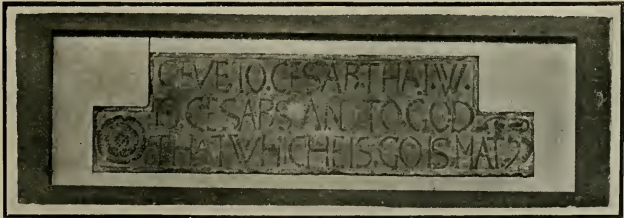
LEWYS

The first line probably contained the word “Reverendus” in a contracted form.

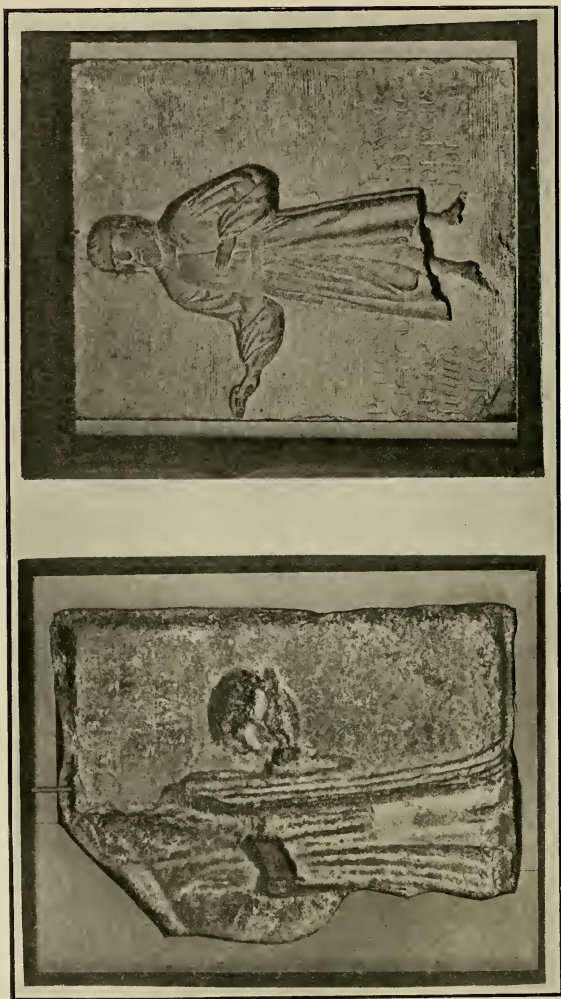
On the second stone, in the lower portion of it, and on either side of the cleric’s legs, runs the following inscription in four lines, thus :—

Petro
Clerico
n ƿ æ
hujus
—side—

Lewys
Domus
Dispensat
opis p^e—



THE QUEEN ELIZABETH STONES



THE PETER LEWYS STONES

Dr Berry reads this inscription and supplies a translation as follows :—

“ Petro Lewys clerico domus nostrae dispensatori hujus operis praeside ; ” *i.e.*, To Peter Lewys, cleric, Proctor of our House (*i.e.*, the Convent of the Holy Trinity, Christ Church, Dublin), surveyor of this work (*i.e.*, the Bridge).

Unlike the first stone, this inscription is cut in incised letters ; contraction signs are cut over the “ r ” in *nostrae*, and over the “ p ” in *praeside*.

Of the Rev. Peter Lewys but little is known ; he is supposed to have been an English monk who conformed to the Protestant religion.¹ In 1547 he was granted a dispensation to hold the Rectory of Mourne, County Down, together with the office of Chaplain to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger. In November, 1550, he was presented to the Rectory of St John the Baptist of Castle Peter, *alias* Monasteroris, in the Diocese of Kildare. In 1560 he was appointed Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin ; and four years later he was employed at the restoration of that building. In 1567 he constructed the Bridge of Athlone, in the inscription on which he is described as “ Sir² Peter Lewys Clerke, Chantor (of the) Cathedral Church of Christ Church, in Dublin, and Stheward to the said L. Deputie.”

This is the last work on record associated with Peter Lewys, and as no further notice of him is forthcoming, he probably returned to England to end his days.

THE DAMPORT STONE (Plate X)

On this stone is carved, in bold relief, the figure of a soldier in armour, with a dog seated at his foot. In his left hand he holds a huge headed halbert, and on his right hand is balanced a broad-arrow or pheon, the arms of his master, Sir Henry Sydney. An inscription in five lines (the first two lines in raised letters) occupies the left side of the slab, the wording of which is :—

ROBART³
DAMPORT
AN OWER
SEER OF THY
S WORKYS.

¹ “ Sir Peter Lewys, Ecclesiastic, Cathedral and Bridge Builder,” by Henry F. Berry, M.A., 1902. “ The Journal of Sir Peter Lewys, 1564–5,” by the late James Mills, M.R.I.A. : *Journal of the R. S. A., Ire.*, volume for the year 1896.

² The title “ Sir ” was at this period often applied to clerics. It was an attempt to translate *Magister* [*Artium*].

³ The letter, like an inverted S, which follows this name, is merely an ornament to fill the space.

All that is known of Robert Dampart, "gent.," is that in 1576 he was commissioned with others to execute martial law in Connacht; that in 1579 he was in possession of two tenements near the House of Friars close to the North Gate in Athlone; and that in 1586 he is mentioned as then being Provost-Marshal of Connacht.

This completes the description of the principal sculptured stones. In all they are stated to have numbered 43, but this must include fragments, and the various pieces which formed frames to those above described.

Possibly two or three of the stones may not have belonged to the old Bridge at all, but may have been taken out of houses during rebuilding operations in Athlone. In any case it is not likely that they were originally built into "the Monument" on the bridge demolished in 1844, as an erection such as described by Mr Joly in his pamphlet on the old Bridge, would be more in keeping with the 18th, than with the 16th, century.

[The Illustrations to this Paper are from blocks kindly put at the Society's disposal by the Author].



THE ROBERT DAMPORT STONE

THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER

[Continued from vol. XLIV, page 66]

PART IV. INQUISITIONS TOUCHING COLERAINE AND
MILITARY TENURESBy GODDARD H. ORPEN, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

THE County of Coulrath (*Cúil-rathain*, "the ferny corner," now Coleraine) included primarily the thirteenth century deanery of Twescard (*tuaiscert*, "the northern district"), which comprised the North-east Liberties of Coleraine in County Londonderry, and the baronies of Upper and Lower Dunluce, Cary, and Kilconway, in County Antrim. To these for administrative purposes had been recently added, as we learn from this inquisition, the seignorial manors of Northburgh in Inishowen and of Roo at Limavady. The county court was held at Coleraine, and there were manorial courts at Roo and Armoy.

Up to the year 1315, when the hands of Edward Bruce and his Irish supporters fell heavy upon the land, this district of the Twescard was apparently the most thickly settled and the most prosperous division of the lordship of Ulster. This appears not only from the accounts of the custos in 1262 and 1276, already given,¹ but also from the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* of 1306—no bad guide to the relative order and prosperity of the lands included in the deaneries taxed. There the total taxation of the churches in the Deanery of Twescard is £217 3s. 4d., while the next highest total—that of the Deanery of Lecale—is only £108 8s. 0d. But by the date of this inquisition (1333) a great change for the worse had come over the Twescard. The retrogression may be roughly measured by the reduction of the annual value of the Earl's interest here since the last extent was taken. According to the old extent the earl's interest was valued at £190 8s. 6d., but now only at £39 13s. 4d., or little more than one-fifth of the former value. When precisely the "old extent" was made is not stated, but in ordinary course an extent would have been taken soon after the death of Earl Richard in 1326, and it appears from the *Pipe Rolls* that in May, 1327, his lands were delivered partly to Elizabeth de Clare, widow of his

¹ Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, pp. 38 and 41.

eldest son John, and partly to John's son and heir William (though under age), "to answer according to the extent thereof."¹ Even this old extent shows an apparent falling off from previous values, so far as they are available for comparison; but, as already remarked, such comparisons may be misleading. In the Twescard in particular the important manors of Coleraine, Drumtarsy, Portrush, Portkaman (Bushmills), and Dunsumery (Dunseverick), and some other interests had been granted by Earl Richard in 1308 in frank-marriage to his son John and Elizabeth de Clare. They were now in the hand of the latter, and do not appear in this inquisition,² which, accordingly, gives a very incomplete survey of the Twescard.

At any rate the inquisitions now abstracted show not only that all the neighbouring Irish clans were in a state of war, and that their former subordinate and comparatively peaceable relations with the English were at an end, but also that the earl's manors at Northburgh, Roo, and Camus were lying waste, as well as the lands about Drumtarsy and Loughguile. This change seems to have occurred immediately after the murder of Earl William, when the perpetrators of the crime, to shield themselves from justice, called in the Irish to their assistance. John de Mandeville headed those who took vengeance on the accomplices of the criminals,³ and hence probably the destruction of his property by them.

Anglo-Norman influence and partial domination in the parts of the province of Ulster west of the Bann have not, I think, received due recognition at the hands of our historians. Of the places mentioned in our inquisition the Castle of Northburgh was built by the Red Earl in 1305.⁴ Its site is marked on the western shore of the entrance to Loch Foyle by the ruins of a castle, now commonly known as Greencastle. Before 1310, and perhaps about the time the castle was built, the earl obtained from Godfrey MacLoughlin, Bishop of Derry, with the consent of the chapter, but without licence from the King, the City of Derry, two villates in Bothmean in Inchetun (probably the parish of Inch), and eight carucates in Moybylle (*Magh bile*, Moville) and Fathun-murra (*Fathain-mura Fahan*),⁵ and the advowson of a moiety of the Church of Inchetun.

¹ *Irish Pipe Roll*, 2 Edw. III, 43rd Rep. D. K., pp. 22-24.

² They probably appear among the knight's fees in the next inquisition. See note to "Chywtun."

³ See Part II, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 135, note. In September, 1326, after the death of Earl Richard, John de Mandeville was appointed Sheriff of Co. Down, and at the same time Robert Savage was made Sheriff of the County of Coul Rath, while Henry and Richard de Mandeville were *custodes pacis*, the former in the bishopric of Down, and the latter in those of Connor and Derry: *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 20 Edw. II, p. 33b (7-12).

⁴ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1305: where it is called "the New Castle of Inishowen."

⁵ *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 3 & 4 Edw. II, p. 18, no. 128.

About the same time he also obtained from Henry Mac an Crossain, Bishop of Raphoe, three villates in Derecolmkelle (Derry) and Loghlappan.¹ Inishowen had long been debatable land between the Cenel Owen and the Cenel Connell, and the civil strife had its counterpart in a dispute between the Bishops of Derry and Raphoe.² Probably each side was anxious to enlist the powerful assistance of the Earl of Ulster, who was not above accepting a fee from both.

From the present inquisition we learn that the sum of £60 used to be paid to the earl by Irish tenants of the manor of Northburgh. This large sum must have issued out of lands of much greater extent than those contained in the above grants from the bishops. During the last half of the thirteenth century Tirconnell had been within what may be called the Geraldine "sphere of influence." It had been granted by Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, to Maurice FitzGerald, the justiciar, and by Maurice to his younger son Maurice FitzMaurice.³ Then John FitzThomas seems to have acquired the interest of the heirs of Maurice FitzMaurice in Tirconnell,⁴ and from him this interest seems to have passed to the Red Earl under the agreement for the settlement of the dispute which arose between them.⁵ The Red Earl, through his seneschal Thomas de Mandeville, had assisted Aedh Buidhe O'Neill in the battle of Disert da Crich (1281),⁶ when Donnell Og O'Donnell and many of his urrighs fell. In 1286 the earl received the hostages of the Cenel Connell, and in 1291 he again invaded the country. It is not improbable that as the result of these expeditions the earl obtained some tangible rights in Tirconnell, but outside of Inishowen we have no evidence of any English settlement, and rents from Irish tenants here must have been very precarious.

Northburgh Castle was taken by the Scots early in 1316.⁷ It was, however, afterwards recovered. In the preceding October the King's victuallers had been ordered to supply 40 crannocks of corn for it, but the supplies were diverted to Whitehaven and Skinburness.⁸ It was in Northburgh Castle that Walter, son of Sir William de

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Edw. II, p. 292. Loghlappan: now Port Lough on the southern boundary of Inishowen; *Inquis. Ultonie*, Appendix iv and v.

² *Irish Plea Rolls*, 34 Edw. I, cited Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, p. 24. In the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*, 1306, the deanery of "Inysowyn" appears in the Diocese of Derry.

³ *Red Book of the Earl of Kildare*, f. v d. and f. viii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Justiciary Roll*, vol. i, p. 235.

⁶ *Ann. Ulst. and Clonmacnois*, 1281: where "Mac Martain" denotes Thomas de Mandeville. Cf. *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, no. 2049. Martin de Mandeville, who held lands in Co. Louth in the time of King John, was probably the eponym: *C. D. I.*, vol. i, nos. 1284, 1621.

⁷ *Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, vol. ii, p. 349.

⁸ *Hist. and Mun. Docs., Ireland*, pp. 335, 341.

Burgh, was imprisoned and starved to death in 1332, and this act, as already mentioned,¹ led to the murder of Earl William and the break-up of the great earldom.

The manor of Le Roo, with its 17 carucates in the hands of freeholders and 34 carucates let to tenants for terms of years, had also clearly been an important manor. The name still survives in Roe Park near Limavady and in the River Roe which runs through the demesne. The church appears in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* as Roo under the Deanery of Bynnagh (*Cenel mBinne*) with the high value of £20. I have already called attention² to a deed by which Dermot O'Cahan, King of Fir na Craibhe, in 1278, surrendered his land of "Glen Oconcahil" to Earl Richard. I have failed to trace the name, but it may possibly have denoted the district about Le Roo. In 1296 the earl granted the castle and manor of Roo to James, seneschal of Scotland, and Egidia, the earl's sister, in frank-marriage, but apparently before the date of this inquisition it had reverted to the earldom.

Camus, so called presumably from a river-bend (*cámas*), lies on the left bank of the Bann a couple of miles above Coleraine. It must have been included in the ten knight's fees to the west of the river granted by King John in 1215 to Thomas Earl of Athol, together with the Castle of Kilsantail.³ Like most of the earl's lands on this side of the Bann it had been laid waste by the Irish. Even some land belonging to Hugh de Logan at Drumtarcy (*Druim tairsigh*, now Killowen, a parish on the western side of the river opposite Coleraine) had not escaped. A castle here and a bridge across the river had been built in 1248, but the bridge—and no doubt the castle too—was broken down by Edward Bruce in 1315.⁴

At Loughguile, in the barony of Upper Dunluce, there was formerly an important seignorial manor. In 1262 as much as £64 11s. 4d. was received from it, and in 1276 issues of the Twescard amounting to £259 17s. 10d. are accounted for under Loughguile and Coleraine.⁵ "Lisanowre Castle in ruins" (*Liss an uabhair* (?), 'the fort of pride')⁶ is marked on the O.S. map, enclosed by earthworks, on Castle Hill, in the townland of Castle-quarter on the shore of the lake. This would seem to have been the manorial centre. Lewis says that the castle was originally built by Sir Philip

¹ Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 46.

² *Ante*, Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii (1913), p. 43.

³ See *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, p. 292.

⁴ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1248. In 1382 Richard II gave orders for the repair of the Castle of Drumtarcy, the bridge of Coleraine, and the towers at the end of the bridge, which had been broken down by the Irish in the time of Edward III: *Irish Pat. Roll*, 5 Rich. II, p. 115 (219).

⁵ Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, pp. 38, 41.

⁶ Or perhaps *an iubhair*, 'of the yew-tree.'

Savage in the reign of King John, but I have not found authority for this. In 1333 the lands here lay waste.

COUNTY OF COULRATH (COLERAINE)

(This Inquisition is a continuation of No. 20, *Journal* for 1914, pp. 63-66)

Northborough.—Extent of castle and manor of Northburgh,¹ £60 by old extent, and nothing by new extent.

William de Burgh, late Earl of Ulster, held in his demesne as of fee the manor of Northburgh, in the County of Coulrath, in which there is a castle worth nothing beyond the cost of its keeping.

There are divers lands and tenements there in the hands of Irishmen who hold at the will of the lord, and in the earl's time used to pay £60, but now nothing can be obtained from them, because they are in a state of war.

Roo Demesnes.—At le Roo 34 carucates in demesne which used to be in the hands of divers tenants for terms of years in Le Castle-toun, and they used to pay for each carucate 26s. 8d., but now they lie waste and untilled on account of the war, so that nothing can be obtained from them by reason of the want of tenants of those parts.

Seventeen carucates there used to be in the hands of divers freeholders, and they used to pay 20s. for each acre (*recte* carucate) and do suit at the mill of le Roo, but now nothing, as above.

A certain river there the profits of which used to be worth 20s., but now nothing.

Two water-mills which used to be worth in profits of multure 80 crannocks of flour, at 2s. per crannock, but now nothing.

A fortnightly court for extern tenants, the pleas and perquisites of which used to be worth £1, now nothing.

Caumys.—Two carucates in demesne in Caumys, worth in the Earl's time 40s., but now they lie waste and untilled on account of the war of the Irish and the want of tenants in those parts.

Farmers.—£2 used to be received from one carucate in Loganton² near Hathenady, but now nothing.

The following rents are received from divers lands which divers tenants hold to farm in the places annexed, viz.:—£1 13s. 4d. in

¹ For Northburgh, Roo, and Caumys, see above.

² Logantoun (so in the summary; here, in the transcript before me, the name appears in the apparently impossible form "Loglenord"), probably now Ballylagan, a townland in the Parish of Macosquin, adjoining Camus.

the villa de Erthmoy;¹ £1 13s. 4d. in the villa de Kynnergher; £1 6s. 8d. in the villa de Lenagh; £1 13s. 4d. in Balyouthay; £1 6s. 4d. in Maynfauour;² 13s. 4d. in Castelmyleghan; £1 6s. 4d. in the villa de Cryngel; £3 in the villa of le Knog;³ £1 6s. 4d. in Gylrethton;⁴ £1 6s. 4d. in Brystone;⁵ 6s. 8d. in le Halde; 13s. 4d. in le Crage;⁶ 13s. 4d. in le Fynvaugh;⁷ £1 6s. 8d. in Castelewy; £1 6s. 8d. in Clantfynan;⁸ £1 in Muncro; 3s. 4d. in Gameltone; £1 6s. 8d. in Balybough;⁹ £2 13s. 4d. in Dounshalewy.

The following rents used to be received from divers lands which divers tenants held in the places annexed, but now nothing, because waste as above, viz.:—18s. in Loghkiel;¹⁰ £1 6s. 0d. from lands held at will in Loghkiel; £2 13s. 4d. in Corcagh;¹¹ £1 4s. 6d. in Ouercoreagh; £1 6s. 8d. in Coulton; £2 in the villa de Arys.

Three water-mills, worth in profits of toll £4.

Erthermoy Mill.—Another water-mill at Erthermoy, worth in demesne £2 8s. 0d.

Extern Court (*Curia forinseca*).—A fortnightly court for extern suitors, the pleas and perquisites of which are worth 6s. 8d.

Another fortnightly court at Erthermoy, the pleas and perquisites of which are worth 3s. 4d.

Free Tenants in Fee.—£1 chief rent used to be received from 3 carucates in Tylaghysshyn, which John de Mandevill holds freely in fee, but now nothing, because waste, as above. £2 chief rent used to be received from 3 acres (*recte* carucates) in Dondouan,¹² which Nicholas Cruys holds there in fee, doing suit therefor at the county (court) of Coulrath, but now nothing, because waste, as above.

There are divers freeholders, viz.:—Robert le Sauvage, Knight,

¹ Erth[er]moy: Armoy (*Airther maighe*), called Ethirmoy in *Eccl. Tax.*, a town and parish in the barony of Cary.

² Maynfavour: Moyaver Lower and Upper, two townlands in the parish of Armoy.

³ Villa del Knog: Ballyknock, Big and Little (?), two townlands in the parish of Loughguile, Dunluce Upper.

⁴ Gylrethton: Kilraghts (?), a townland and parish in Dunluce Upper, called "Kellrethi": *Eccl. Tax.*

⁵ Brystone: Kilbritoune seems to be the name in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* for the Church of Finvoy.

⁶ Le Crage: The Craigs, a townland in the parish of Finvoy, Kilconway.

⁷ Le Fynvaugh: Finvoy (*Finn-mhagh*), a townland in the parish of the same name.

⁸ Clantfynan: Contyfinnan, East and West, townlands in the parish of Loughguile.

⁹ Balybough: perhaps Ballybogy, a townland in the parish of Dunaghy, Kileconway.

¹⁰ Loghkiel: Loughguile, see above.

¹¹ Corcagh and Overcoreagh: now represented by the townlands of Corkey North, Middle, and South, also Love's Corkey, in the parish of Loughguile.

¹² Dondouan: Dundooan, three townlands in the parishes of Ballyagran and Ballywillin, in the North-East Liberties of Coleraine.

John le Sauvage, and Walter de Say, Avelyna de Say, and Isabella Say, who hold freely 10 carucates in Dromert,¹ rendering therefor one sore sparrow-hawk and doing suit at the county as above.

£2 rent used to be received from 70 acres which Hugo de Logan holds freely in Dromtarcy,² but now nothing, because waste, as above.

£2 rent are received from 2 carucates which Richard de Burgo holds freely in Stanton,³ and does suit at the county, as above.

Richard de Maundevill, Knight, holds there in fee 1 carucate in Hoghtonesalagh,⁴ and does suit at the said county, as above.

A county (court) held monthly, the profits and perquisites whereof are worth £2.

Total of old value of lands, tenements and rents

of the aforesaid County of Coulrath £190 8 6

Total of present value £39 13 4

Inquisition no. 25, of which an abstract is given below concerns the whole of Ulster, except Tirconnell. It first of all gives a list of tenants holding by military service in Eastern Ulster, specifying the number of knight's fees or parts of a knight's fee, which each held, and in most cases indicating the places where the lands lay. These places seem to be enumerated in topographical order, beginning with the north-west about Coleraine, and continuing southwards to the Ards. In suggesting identifications I have in some cases been partly influenced by this apparent topographical order.

Sir Robert Savage, who appears at the head of the jurors in this inquisition as well as in those concerning the Counties of Carrickfergus, Antrim, and Down, had been appointed Sheriff of the County of Coleraine in September, 1326, when the lordship came into the King's hand on the death of Earl Richard,⁵ and he was seneschal of Ulster in 1334, and in 1343, &c.,⁶ probably continuously. In 1347

¹ Dromert: Drumart is now the name of a townland in the parish of Ballymoney, but in 1603 the tuough of Ballymoney and Dromart included the parishes of Ballymoney and Kilraghts (Reeves' *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 331). The lands of Walter son of Walter de Say, within the Liberty of Ulster, were confiscated for his adherence to the Scots (*Ir. Pat. Roll*, 11 Edw. II, p. 26 (210), p. 27 (55)), but perhaps he was subsequently pardoned.

² Dromtarcy: see above.

³ Stanton (Stonetown): now perhaps the townland of Ballynaglogh (*Bailena gCloch*, "town of the stones"), in the parish of Culfeightrin, barony of Cary.

⁴ Hoghtonesalagh: perhaps Ballynashallog (*Bailenaseilg*, "town of the hunting"), a townland in the parish of Templemore, Londonderry.

⁵ *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 20 Edw. II, p. 33b (8).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38b (56), p. 45 (56).

the King confirmed to Robert Saváge the manors of Rathmore, Duntorsy, Balencan and Donaghy.¹ He was no doubt the Robert Savage who, with unfortunate results, was dissuaded by his son Henry from building strong castles on his lands—his son quoting the vulgar saying: "Better a castle of bones than a castle of stones."² He died in 1360,³ and his lands in Moylinny were afterwards destroyed by the Clannaboy O'Neills. Richard Savage seems to have been the head of the family in 1333, and as such held the hereditary estates in the Twescard. Here, however, the Mandevilles had been the principal tenants. It may be observed that the jurors do not say where the one and a half fees held by Richard de Mandeville lay, though they do mention that he held $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a knight's fee in Dundelyff (Dunluce). He was *custos pacis* in the dioceses of Connor and Derry in 1326,⁴ and his principal lands no doubt lay within these bishoprics. But he was implicated in the death of the earl. It is said that it was at the instigation of his wife, who was sister of Walter de Burgh, that the murder had been committed, and that his son Robert was one of the perpetrators of the crime.⁵ The next notice I have found concerning Richard de Mandeville is dated 16 September, 1337. It speaks of him as a rebel attempting with a multitude of Scottish felons to conquer the Isle of Man.⁶ We may therefore infer that his lands in Ulster were confiscated.

It is noteworthy that the district known as "The Glynns" does not appear in any of these inquisitions. The family of Byset at one time held by knight's service a large fief in it, including lands in the parishes of Carncastle, Ticmacrevan, Ardclinis, and probably Layd, with the rent of Cary and the island of Rathlin.⁷ In other words, probably the whole coast-strip from about Ballygalley Head northwards. In 1278 the heirs of this great fief were daughters of John, son of John Byset, and it may have been subdivided. In 1315, however, Hugh Byset held the manor of Glenarm, probably including the most valuable part of the above lands, and Rathlin Island. These lands were forfeited to the King on account of Hugh's treasonable adherence to the Scots in Ireland, and were granted by

¹ *Cal. Pat. Roll*, 21 Edw. III, p. 298. Rathmore of Moylinny is in the parish of Donegore. A neighbouring townland is still called Ballysavage. Duntorsy: I suspect we should read Duncorry—i.e., Donegore, cf. *infra*, p. 140. Balencan: perhaps the same as Balencal (confiscated from Richard de Mandeville). Donaghy: now Dunaghy, in the barony of Kilconway, *infra*, p. 139.

² *Land MS. Annals*, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁴ *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 20. Edw. II, p. 33b (12).

⁵ *Glyn's Annals*, 1333.

⁶ *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 11 Edw. III, p. 42 (7).

⁷ *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, no. 1500, and compare Escheator's account: *Ir. Pipe Roll*, 4 Edw. I, 36 Rep. D. K., p. 32.

the King to John de Athy¹ in reward, no doubt, for his services against the Scots. Probably the latter continued to hold them of the King in chief, and not of the earl, and consequently they do not appear in these inquisitions.

The last section of this inquisition—perhaps the most interesting part of all these De Burgh inquisitions—discloses the former relations between the earl and the Irish chieftains of the province of Ulster. There was no provision for interference with native rule, and no rent or tribute was exacted, but the chieftains severally acknowledged that they held their territories of the earl by the service of maintaining a fixed number of “satellites”—by which I understand light-armed horsemen or hobelers—who were to be ready and equipped, and at the bidding of the earl, for whatever military service he might require. In ordinary times they would form a permanent body-guard for the chieftains favoured by the earl to protect them against rivals and hostile neighbours, while as long as the system worked smoothly the earl would have a small standing force of 345 men liable to be summoned in addition to those supplied by his English tenants. As regards the earl the arrangement was, in miniature, like the military service which the tenants in chief were bound to supply to the English King, and its efficacy in each case depended on the loyalty of the tenants, and ultimately on the power of the chief lord to enforce it. Presumably these were among the men that the Red Earl brought with him on several occasions to the Scottish and other foreign wars. Sometimes indeed, as in 1314, the King wrote directly to these chieftains, asking their aid, when warned by the earl, against the Scots or others; but we cannot in general be sure with what success. We may, however, infer that in 1297 Cu-Ulad O’Hanlon, King of Orior, Aenghus Mac Mahon and others accompanied the earl when setting out for the expedition to Flanders,² as the *Annals* tell us that in this year they were killed by the English of Dundalk “when returning to their homes from the earl”³—a poor return it may be noted for their loyal service.

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II, pp. 271, 313. John de Athy was appointed on 28th June, 1317, admiral of the ships destined for service against the Scots (*ibid.*, 11 Edw. II, p. 165), and shortly afterwards he killed Thomas of Dun, “a scowmar of the sea” (as Barbour describes him), and 40 of his men: *Laud MS. Annals*, *ubi supra*, p. 355. In March, 1319, he was given the custody of Carrickfergus Castle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II, p. 311), and in 1326, after the death of Earl Richard, he was appointed by the King sheriff of the Counties of Carrickfergus and Antrim: *Ir. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. II, p. 33b (9).

² It seems that the Earl had actually started for Flanders under an agreement made with the justiciar, but after the truce which was made with the King of France on October 7, King Edward, finding some of the terms of the agreement with the Earl very hard, desired that he should remain in Ireland: *C. D. L.*, vol. iv, no. 452.

³ *Ann. Ulst., Ann. Loch Cé* 1297.

All the northern kings, except O'Donnell, are mentioned in this list as normally subordinate to the Earl of Ulster. The exception is probably due to the fact that, as already noted, the earl had actual claims on some territory in Tirconnell. The kings or chieftains who held of the earl by the above military service seem to have been as follows :—

1. Ruaidhri O'Cathain, King of the Irish of Ferncrewe (*Fir na Craibhe*), a territory to the west of the Lower Bann, in the barony of Keenaught. He was presumably the Rory O'Kane, lord of Creeve and Ard-Keenaghta, who died in 1349.¹

2. Henry O'Neill and Aedh O'Neill of Tirowen. The father of the former was Aedh Buidhe (Hugh Boy) O'Neill, who was killed in 1283, and was eponymous ancestor of the Clannaboy O'Neills. The death of Henry son of Aedh Buidhe is entered under the year 1347.² The latter seems to have been Aedh Remhar ("the fat") O'Neill, who is mentioned in 1337 as making peace with the men of Uriel and Fermanagh, and in 1339 and 1343 as invading Tirconnell. But in order to understand more clearly the relations between the earls of Ulster and the O'Neills, and to see if the Irish annals harmonize with the impression left by this inquisition, it is necessary to examine more fully the succession of the O'Neills about this period, and to distinguish the rival factions by which they were divided. This examination too will I think cause us to revise current notions as to the relations of the English of Ulster with the Clann Aedha Buidhe, and offer at least a starting point for determining how and when that division of the O'Neills obtained the territory in Eastern Ulster, afterwards known from them as Clannaboy.

In 1259, at the very time when Brian O'Neill was endeavouring to organize a confederation of the Gael under himself as ard-ri, Aedh Buidhe O'Neill joined Donnell Og O'Donnell in an expedition into Tirowen. They burned all the country, went thence into (Irish) Uriel, and "hostages were given up to them in every place through which they passed."³

O'Donovan here notes that Aedh Buidhe was the [eponymous] ancestor of the O'Neills of Clannaboy, or race of Hugh Boy, "who," he says, "shortly after this period acquired a new territory for themselves in the Counties of Down and Antrim." He then adds, "Davies and Leland seem to think that these territories were not

¹ *Four Masters*, 1349. We have already noted the surrender of "Glen Oconcahil," by Rory's predecessor, Dermot O'Cathain, to the Earl in 1278: *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 43.

² *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1347.

³ *Four Masters*, 1259.

wrested from the English settlers till after the murder of the Earl of Ulster in 1333." From our inquisition alone we might gather that Davies and Leland were right in not placing the migration of the Clann Aedha Buidhe earlier than 1333, but in fact it will appear that the first sign we have of this migration was several years after that date, and that then the settlement, which was probably a very gradual affair, was made at the expense of the Irish of Ui Tuirtri. In fact for at least a century after 1259 the English of Ulster were good friends of Aedh Buidhe and his descendants, supported their claim to the Kingship of the Cinel Owen, and fought beside them in more than one battle.

Next year (1260), after Brian O'Neill had lost his life in his vain attempt against the English of Ulster at the battle of Down, Aedh Buidhe was made King over Tirowen.¹ There was a contest between him and his brother Niall Culánach O'Neill (1261), but this ended in the expulsion of the latter in 1263, when Aedh Buidhe was again made King. As about this time Aedh Buidhe married Eleanor, daughter of Miles de Angulo and cousin of Walter de Burgh,² we may infer that close relations of amity already existed between the new Earl of Ulster and the new King of Tirowen. Two years later Aedh Buidhe accompanied Earl Walter in an expedition against O'Donnell.³

I have already quoted the deed of 2 October, 1269, by which Aedh Buidhe acknowledged that he held his regality of Earl Walter, and that if he broke his agreement the earl might give or sell his kingship to anyone else.⁴ In the account of James de Audley, justiciar, for the period 1270-2, a credit is entered for robes, furs and saddles for "Oneel, Mackahan (O'Cahan), and other Irishmen," who apparently accompanied the justiciar in some of his expeditions.⁵ In 1273, when the Marches of Ulster were in a hostile state, complaint was made on behalf of Avelina, widow of Earl Walter, that her dower in part consisted of "the homages of almost all the hostile Irish of Ulster."⁶ This at least shows that the subordinate position of the Ulster kings relative to the earldom was recognised sixty years before the date of our inquisition, even though it also indicates that their homages in time of disturbance had little or no pecuniary value. At this time indeed the dispute between the Mandevilles and William Fitz Warin, seneschal of Ulster, was at its

¹ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1260.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 337, and cf. Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 39, note. Miles Mac Goisdélbh or de Angulo died in 1259 (*Ann. Loch Cé*), and Walter de Burgh presumably had "the marriage" of his daughter.

³ *Ann. Ulst.*, vol. ii, p. 339.

⁴ *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 39.

⁵ *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, p. 148.

⁶ *Ibid* no. 950.

height, and while Aedh Buidhe supported the former, his brother Niall Culánach (called here King of Inishowen) supported the latter.¹

In 1281 Aedh Buidhe, assisted by "Mac Martin" (*i.e.*, Thomas de Mandeville,² Earl Richard's seneschal of the Twescard) and all the English of Ulster, won a bloody victory at Desertcreat (a few miles north of Dungannon) over Donnell Og O'Donnell, who had repeatedly invaded Tirowen in recent years, and seemingly held the hostages of Fermanagh and Irish Uriel.³ In 1283 Aedh Buidhe was himself slain by Mac Mahon. It is thus clear that throughout his reign Aedh Buidhe was supported by the English of Ulster.

Aedh Buidhe was apparently succeeded by Donnell son of his former opponent, "Brian of the Battle of Down." In 1286, however, the Red Earl exerted his power over the whole north of Ireland. He received the hostages of the Cenel Connell and Cenel Owen as well as of Connacht, and he deposed Donnell O'Neill and gave the sovereignty to Niall Culánach, brother of Aedh Buidhe.⁴ Four years later (1290) Donnell deposed Niall Culánach, only to be deposed next year by the earl, who reinstated Niall. No sooner had the earl left the country, however, than Donnell made sure of his rival by killing him. He did not gain his ulterior purpose immediately, for Brian son of Aedh Buidhe was now made King "with assent of the earl by Mac Martin [Thomas ? de Mandeville] and Mac Eoin [Hugh ? Byset]," and Donnell was expelled.⁵ After another four years (1295) Donnell, taking advantage no doubt of the imprisonment of Earl Richard by John Fitz Thomas and of the weakening of English power that ensued from their conflict, slew Brian son of Aedh Buidhe, and "great havoc was wrought of English and Gael along with him."⁶ Thus from 1260 to 1295

¹ *C. D. I.*, vol. ii. nos. 952-3, also p. 433, where the name is printed "Eycboy O'Neill," and see Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 40.

² For the identification of Mac Martin with Thomas de Mandeville it is really enough to cite *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, no. 2049, which is an order dated February, 1283, to pay Thomas de Mandeville for the head of O'Donnell according to a proclamation. See, too, note 5, *infra*. Martin de Mandeville who held lands in Co. Louth in King John's time, was probably the eponym: *C. D. I.*, vol. i, nos. 1284, 1621.

³ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1281.

⁴ *Ann. Ulst.*, *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1286.

⁵ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1291. O'Donovan in a note to the obit of Henry Mac Martin (*Four Masters*, 1337) says that Mac Martin became the surname of a collateral branch of the O'Neills of Clannaboy. But he appears to be in error. He refers to a mistaken rendering of the above passage from the *Annals of Ulster*, which seems to make Mac Martin, or at least Mac Eoin, a son of Hugh Boy (see *Four Masters*, vol. iii, p. 454, note, and *cf.* Index, "Mac Eoin of Tyrone, 1291"). But Mac Carthy in his edition of the *Ann. Ulst.* (*ubi supra*) has given the correct rendering, which does not support the supposed affiliation. That Mac Eoin was a surname used by the Irish for Byset has been noticed, but no one seems to have observed that Mac Martin was similarly used for Mandeville.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1295.

Aedh Buidhe, his brother, and his son Brian were almost continuously Kings of the Cenel Owen. They were nominees of the earls of Ulster, and were consistently supported by them.

So far as we know, Donnell son of Brian was undisturbed in his kingship up to the time of Edward Bruce, whom he supported in his invasion. During this period of twenty years, however, he does not once figure in the annals, and we cannot tell what his attitude towards the earl was. From his subsequent alliance with Edward Bruce we might infer that it was hostile. Nevertheless he was one of those from whom aid was asked against the Scots in 1314,¹ and it was during this period that the earl held the prosperous manors of Northburgh and Roo. In 1319, after the failure of Bruce's invasion, Donnell was expelled "through the power of the English and the Clann Aedha Buidhe," and his son Brian was slain,² but he re-assumed the sovereignty, and died in 1325.

For many years after the death of Donnell son of Brian the Irish annals do not speak of anyone as King of the Cinel Owen. In 1337 we hear of Aedh Remhar (the Fat) O'Neill as making peace with Uriel and Fermanagh, and as invading Tirconnell in 1339 and again in 1343, when he deposed Niall O'Donnell.³ He was, I suppose, the "Odo Oneel" of our inquisition. O'Donovan says that he was a son of Donnell son of Brian.⁴ If this be so, it would seem that he must be distinguished from Aedh (Mor) O'Neill, who died King of Tirowen in 1364, for this Aedh seems to have been son of Turlough.⁵

It is to be noticed that neither Henry nor Odo Oneel is called in our inquisition King of Tirowen. In harmony with this the Irish annals do not designate either Henry O'Neill, who died in 1347 or, Aedh Remhar O'Neill, as King, though the latter is represented acting as such in and after 1337, while in April, 1326, Brian son of Henry O'Neill was a hostage in the custody of Robert Savage, who was ordered to deliver him to the Constable of Carrickfergus.⁶ Among those summoned to the Scottish expedition in 1335 were Irewere O'Neel (Aedh Remhar) and Henry O'Neel. The evidence, positive and negative, in fact suggests that, after the death of Donnell son of Brian, Tirowen was divided by the English between the representatives of the rival families, and one part was assigned to Henry son of Aedh Buidhe, and the other to Aedh Remhar.

¹ *Foedera*, 22 March, 1314, p. 245.

² *Four Masters*, 1319.

³ *Ann. Ulst., sub annis.*

⁴ *Four Masters*, vol. iii, p. 564, note m. O'Donovan adds that Aedh Remhar was ancestor of all the succeeding chiefs of the O'Neills of Tyrone.

⁵ *Ann. Ulst.*, vol. ii, p. 507 (addition).

⁶ *Ir. Close Roll*, 20 Edw. II, p. 36 (96).

They were, I think, what is known in Irish idiom as "half-kings." But though the Irish annals leave the succession to the kingship during this period in great obscurity, an entry in the *Annals of Friar Clyn*, who was a contemporary, helps to clear up the matter. He says that in Lent, 1344, Ralph de Ufford, the justiciar, who had married Matilda of Lancaster, the widowed Countess of Ulster, and whose arbitrary actions were much resented by the English of Ireland, entered Ulster with a strong force, and having expelled Thomas Mac Artain (King of Iveagh), "deposed Henry O'Neill, King of Ulster, from his kingdom, and put in his place O'Done [read *Odonem*, Aedh] O'Neill." This would seem to have been an ill-advised interference from the point of view of the English in Ulster, and it perhaps marks the expulsion of the friendly family of Aedh Buidhe from Tirowen. The entry at any rate shows that in 1344 Henry O'Neill—presumably the Henry, son of Aedh Buidhe, who died in 1347—was king, and so far bears out the suggestion above made as to the "half-kings." Possibly the other "half-king," Aedh Remhar, died in that year.

Next year (1345) "Aedh [Mór] O'Neill went with a fleet on Loch Neagh, and the Clann Aedha Buidhe with their muster overtook him, and many persons were wounded and killed between them; but Aedh made his escape in spite of them in his ships."¹ The next entry states that Manus O'Flynn of Moylinny was slain by Donnell Donn and Brian O'Neill. It is not clear to which faction these O'Neills belonged,² but from the former entry we may perhaps infer that Henry son of Aedh Buidhe and his followers had taken refuge from Aedh Mor in the district to the east of Loch Neagh. Henry died, as we have seen, in 1347, and the next relevant notice we have is in 1354 when "a great defeat was given by the Clann Aedha Buidhe and the English of Dundalk to Aedh O'Neill."³ This shows that the English were still friendly to the descendants of Aedh Buidhe, and continued to support them. The defeat of Aedh Mor put an end to any meditated conquest of Eastern Ulster on his part, but in his own country he was evidently a powerful king. He once more subjugated Fermanagh and Irish Uriel, took hostages from O'Donnell, and earned for himself the title of Aedh Mor. He died in 1364, when he is described as "the best King of Leth Cuinn that in recent times came into the head-kingship of the Fifth (province) of Ulster."⁴

¹ *Four Masters*, 1345.

² A Brian, son of Aedh Mor, died in 1354 (*Ann. Ulst.*), while, as we have seen, Brian, son of Henry O'Neill, was hostage for his father in 1326.

³ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1354.

⁴ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1364.

Meantime in 1359 we have a significant entry. "Murtough son of Thomas O'Flynn, who was to be King of Ui Tuirtri, was slain in treachery by Aedh son of Brian son of Aedh Buidhe O'Neill."¹ We hear no more of the O'Flynnns, hereditary lords of Tuirtri, after the death of this Thomas in 1368. Now Tuirtri was the district east of Loch Neagh where Clann Aedha Buidhe are afterwards found to have settled and multiplied, and I think we may take this entry as marking the time when they wrested this territory from the O'Flynnns.

It would take me too far afield to pursue the Clann Aedha Buidhe any further at present, but from this examination I think we may draw the following conclusions with regard to them:— (1) That up to this period the family were generally friendly to, and were supported by, the English of Ulster; (2) that they did not begin to settle to the east of Loch Neagh until the year 1345 at earliest; (3) that they then came as refugees and not as conquerors; (4) that their acquisition of territory there was a gradual process, and was made primarily at the expense of the O'Flynnns of Tuirtri, and afterwards mainly at the expense of the Mac Gillamurrys and Mac Artains of Co. Down, all of them Irish chieftains who had never been seriously encroached upon by the English. Later on, no doubt, after the death of Robert Savage in 1260,² they encroached on the Savages and others in Moylinny.

After this long digression (which, however, I trust will be found helpful by historical students) I resume the identification of the Irish chiefs who are stated to have held of the earl by this military service.

3. *Ruaidhri an einigh* ("of hospitality," i.e., the hospitable) *Mag Uidhir*, or Rory Maguire, who died in 1338, "the man who in his own time presented most money, cattle and clothing to the learned men and chief poets of Erin."³

4. John McMahan and Odo McMahon (*Seaan* and *Aedh Mac Mathghamhna*): apparently "half-kings" of Irish Uriel, the greater part of Counties Monaghan and Armagh. In 1331 John Mac Mahon and the English of County Louth slew Murrough Mac Mahon.⁴ In 1341 he was expelled from Uriel, and in the following year was killed by Aedh (probably the Odo of the inquisition) son of Ralph Mac Mahon. This Aedh died King of Uriel in 1344.⁵

5. Donnell O'Hanlon (*O hAnluain*), King of the Irish of Erther (the baronies of Orior, County Armagh), does not appear in the

¹ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1359.

² *Land MS. Annals*, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 393; and cf. the story about "the castle of bones," *ibid.*, p. 391-2.

³ *Ann. Ulst.*, *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1338.

⁴ *Four Masters*, 1331.

⁵ *Ann. Ulster*.

annals. In 1321 Maghnus O'Hanlon was blinded by Niall O'Hanlon, who was himself afterwards killed by the English of Dundalk.¹ Presumably Donnell succeeded. An instrument recording terms of peace between Donnell O'Hanlon and the people of Louth is referred to in the *Irish Patent Roll* for 11, Edw. II, (1337).

6. John McCartay [recte *Mac Artain*], King of the Irish of Owagh—i.e., Iveagh, *uibh Echach Uladh*. Not mentioned in the annals. He held the lands of Kinelarty of the manor of Rath for £18.² In 1347 Thomas Mac Artain, King of Iveagh, was hanged by the English. Perhaps he was the Mac Artain who resisted the justiciar, Ralph D'Ufford, in the Moiry Pass in 1344.³

7. Robert and Cafan McKylmury (*Mac Gilla Muire*), tenants of Oly. Not mentioned in the annals. "Mac Gilmori, chief of Anderken" (*Ui nDerca Chéin*), was one of those who took credit for assisting William Fitz Warin, seneschal of Ulster, against the rebels in 1273.⁴ He was probably the Dermot son of Gilla Muire O'Morna who died in 1276.⁵ The death of Mac Gilla Muire, King of *Ui nDerca Chéin*, is mentioned in 1391.⁶ This territory has been identified with the barony of Upper Castlereagh, Co. Down, and probably "Oly" is Ouley, a townland in the parish of Saintfield in that barony, where this chief may have resided.

8. Magnus O'Flynn, King of the Irish of Tuirtri.—This was, no doubt, the Manus O'Flynn of Moylinny who was slain by O'Neills in 1345, as mentioned above.

NO. 25.—ULSTER—KNIGHTS' FEES

Inquisition taken before John Moriz, Escheator of Ireland, at Doun, 4 November, 7 Edward III, concerning knights' fees and

<i>Mem.</i> —Nothing is made	advowsons of churches which
of these knights' fees at	belonged to William de Burgo,
present, as their value is	late Earl of Ulster, at his death,
unknown.	and which he held in demesne as
	of his fee in Ulster.

Jurors.—Lord Robert Savage, Knight, John de Burgo, Richard Savage, Patrick Sendal, William de Welles, John son of John de Maundevill, Robert Manby, Roger Fitz Richard, Henry Haywod, William son of Lucien, Richard Dirtyngton [recte D'Irtington, cf. Part II, p. 141], and William Logan; who say that William de

¹ *Ann. Ulster*, 1321.

² See Part III, *Journal*, vol. xlv. p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴ See Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 40.

⁵ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1276.

⁶ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1391.

Burgh died seised in his demesne as of fee of the knights' fees and advowsons following, viz. :—

1½ knight's fees which Richard de Maundevill, knight, held of the earl there.

1 knight's fee which Richard Savage held in fee in Loghton.¹

½ knight's fee which John de Burgo and Elizabeth his wife hold in Chywton.²

¹/₁₆ knight's fee which Richard Savage holds in Lokan³ in fee.

¹/₂₀ knight's fee which Richard de Maundevill holds in Dundelyff⁴ in fee.

¹/₄ knight's fee which Patrick Sandal holds in Harggdon⁵ in fee.

1 knight's fee which William de Welles and Cecilia his wife hold in Mauxbery⁶ and Cary⁷ in fee.

¹/₁₆ knight's fee which Robert Manby holds in Mauby⁸ [Maub'y ?] in fee.

1 knight's fee which John son of John Maundevill holds in Donaghy⁹ in fee.

¹ Loghton : perhaps Ballylough, a townland in the parish of Billy, Dunluce Lower. The castle here, the walls of which are 8½ feet thick (O'Lavery, vol. iv, p. 290), was taken by O'Donnell in 1544 (*Four Masters*).

² Chywton : Two carucates in Kyrketon were included in the grant in frank marriage to John de Burgh, eldest son of Earl Richard, and Elizabeth de Clare, his wife, in 1308. This name seems to survive in the small townland of Kirkistown in the parish of Ballyrashane, in the north-east Liberties of Coleraine. If Chywton be the same as Kyrketon it would seem to represent all the manors, already enumerated, granted to John and Elizabeth, and, if so, is an example of a comparatively obscure name used to include better known manors. John de Burgh, son of Earl Richard, died in 1313, but his widow held the manors in 1333.

³ Lokan : Ecclesia de Loghkan (*Eccl. Ant.*, p. 72), now the grange of Kildollagh, in the north-east Liberties of Coleraine. In the townland of Fishloughan "on a high bank overhanging the Bann, is a part of the foundations of a very strong castle which in some places were 7 feet thick" : Reeves, p. 73. This townland and Milloughan are locally called "the Loughans."

⁴ Dundelyff : now Dunluce. It is called *caislen duin-libsi* (*Ann. Ulst.*, ii, p. 510). *dun Lipse* (*Ann. Loch Cé*, vol. ii, p. 464), and was Latinized *Dunlipsis* by Colgan, The *Four Masters* correct (?) the name into *Caislen duinlis* (vol. v, p. 1324), but the original form had no connexion with *lis*, "a fort."

⁵ Harggdon : This name seems to be one of the disguises in which we meet with the land of "O'Haugharn" or "O'Hageran"—variously called Hochageran, villa Ohatheran, Hathrantone, &c.—now the parish of Ballyagran, at the mouth of the Bann : see Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 37 and note. Elias Cendal (Sandal) in 1281 claimed, and presumably recovered, 3½ carucates of this land : *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, nos. 1782, 1976.

⁶ Mauxbery (so in my transcript) : This name appears elsewhere as Munerie, Maunmery, Mowbray, Mowberry, &c. The tithing of Munerie was one of the subdivisions of the Glynns, and was about coextensive with the parish of Ramoan and the Grange of Drumtullagh : Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 332. It and Cary were in dispute between Henry de Mandeville and William Fitz Waryn in 1272–82 : see Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 40.

⁷ Cary (*Cothrugi*, Onom. Goed) : Now the name of the whole barony, but formerly equivalent to the parish of Culfeightrin : Reeves as above.

⁸ Mauby (so I think in my transcript) : Probably for Maub'y Maubery ?

⁹ Donaghy (*Dun Echdach*) : Probably the Donaci of the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*, value £8 10s. 8d., now the parish of Dunaghy, in the barony of Kilconway.

1 knight's fee which Robert son of Richard holds in Duncorry¹ in fee.

1 knight's fee which Thomas son of Hugh de Maundevill and John Sandal hold in Twywys² in fee.

1 knight's fee which the heir of William Logan holds in Lyn³ in fee.

1 knight's fee which Ralph Logan holds in Waltirton⁴ in fee.

1 knight's fee which Richard Maundevill holds in Balencal⁵ in fee.

$\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee which Alice Somayl holds in fee there.

1 knight's fee which William Logan holds in Balyhaghan in fee.

$\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee which Robert Byset holds in le Crag⁶ in fee.

1 knight's fee which Milo de Eldon holds in le Rob[ertis]ton⁷ in fee.

1 knight's fee which John de Coyly and Hugo de Coyly hold in Donnour⁸ in fee.

1 knight's fee which John Talbot holds in Talbotyston⁹ in fee.

1 knight's fee which John Weston holds in le Rowe¹⁰ in fee.

Each entire fee, whenever it falls into the lord's hand by reason of the minority of any heir, is worth yearly 40s.

The following tenants¹¹ hold their lands and tenements in the

¹ Duncorry: Ecclesia de Duncurri, 15 marks, in the deanery of Maulyne (Moylinny) (*Eccl. Tax.*, p. 64), now the parish of Donegore in Upper Antrim. Roger FitzRichard died in 1335, when his lands of Duncurri were delivered in wardship to Robert Savage: *Ir. Pipe Roll*, 11 Edw. III, 45th Rep. D. K., p. 48. "In the townland at a short distance north-west of the church is a very large mound called Donegore Mote": Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 64. In the parish is a townland called Ballysavage.

² Twywys: This place appears as "Ewes Magna" in *Ir. Pipe Roll*, quoted above, p. 49. It fell into the hand of the Escheator owing to the death of Thomas son of Hugh de Mandeville. It appears in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* as "Ywes," in the deanery of Maulyne, value 13 marks. It is clearly the English word now spelled Yews, and it is now probably Ballynure (*Baile-an-iubhair*, "the town of the Yew"), a parish in Lower Belfast, adjoining Ballylinny, next mentioned.

³ Lyn: Ecclesia de Lynne (*Eccl. Tax.*), now Ballylinny, a townland and parish in Lower Belfast, adjoining the Grange of Ballywalter, next mentioned.

⁴ Waltirton: Villa Walteri de Logan (*Eccl. Tax.*), now the Grange of Ballywalter, in the parish of Ballylinny.

⁵ Balencal (*Baile na nGall*?): Probably the Grange of Umgall (*Gráinseach na nGall*?), in the parish of Templepatrick, Upper Belfast.

⁶ Le Crag: The context here would seem to point to Craigarogan, a large townland in the parish of Templepatrick.

⁷ Le Rob[ertis]ton: Capella ville Roberti (*Eccl. Tax.*, p. 4). The Grange of Ballyrobert, in the parish of Templepatrick, Lower Belfast.

⁸ Donnour: Dunover (*dun uabhair*, "the fort of pride" (Joyce)), a townland in the parish of Ballywalter, Upper Ards.

⁹ Talbotyston: Ecclesia de Talbetona (*Eccl. Tax.*), now Ballyhalbert, a town and parish in Upper Ards.

¹⁰ Le Rowe (*rubha*, the herb rue): The name seems to survive in the townland of Rowreagh, "grey rue-land," in the parish of Inishargy, Upper Ards. The adjoining townland, Eehlinville, in the parish of Ballyhalbert, was anciently called Rowbane, "white rue-land": Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 379, note. *Naomh Tíu o Rubha i n-Ard Uladh*; O'Clery's *Calendar*.

¹¹ For the identification of these Irish kings see above.

following places of the said earl at his death for the following services, viz. :—

Roricus Ochan, King of the Irish of Fernecrewe, holds his lands of Fernecrewe of the said earl by the service of keeping 25 satellites [followers] whom the said earl, or whoever may have been lord there, has desired to assign to the said Roricus Ochan. And whenever the said earl, or whoever may have been lord there, shall have desired to have them in his army, they shall be at the will of the said lord ready and equipped for whatever wars he shall have desired to assign them. And the said maintenance is worth £20 yearly, but now nothing can be obtained either of the said service or its value because the Irish there are in a state of war.

Henry Oneel and Odo Oneel, Irishmen, hold their land in Terryon of the said earl by the service of maintaining 80 satellites as above; worth £95, but now nothing.

Roricus Megwyr, King of the Irish of Fyrmanagh, holds his

Mem.—This parcel does not appear in the Calendar, but the Lady is dowered with a third part of the aforesaid service as appears in the writ of dower addressed to the Escheator of Ireland.

lands of the said earl by the service of maintaining 40 satellites as above; worth £40, but now nothing.

John Memahun and Odo Memahun, Irishmen, hold the kingdom of the Irish of Vryel of the said earl by the

service of maintaining 50 satellites as above; worth £50, but now nothing.

Donnell Ohanlon, King of the Irish of Erther, holds his lands of Erther of the said earl by the service of maintaining 40 satellites as above; worth £40, but now nothing.

John McCartay, King of the Irish of Ouwagh, holds his land of Ouwagh of the said earl by the service of maintaining 60 satellites as above; worth £60, but now nothing.

Robert McKylmury and Cafan McKylmury hold their land of Oly of the earl by the service of maintaining 20 satellites as above; worth £20, but now nothing.

Magnus Offyn, Irishman, King of the Irish of Turtry, holds his land of Tyrtry of the said earl by the service of maintaining 30 satellites as above; worth £30, but now nothing.

Total of old value, £355. And now nothing.

Advowsons of Churches.—The advowson of the church of Grencastel¹ used to be worth according to the extent £10, but now

¹ Greencastle, in the barony of Mourne, Co. Down: see Part III, *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 53.

nothing, because the whole country there is destroyed by the Irish. The advowson of the church of Legh Keel¹ used to be worth £5, but now nothing, for the cause aforesaid. The church of Arweghun² used to be worth £20; but now £5, and the presentation belongs to the said earl.

I have now given abstracts of all the inquisitions of 1333 which concern Ulster. They are numbered 18, 19, 20, and 25. Those touching Connacht, and numbered 21, 22, and 23, were edited by Mr. Knox and published in this *Journal* in the volumes for 1902 and 1903. There are other inquisitions touching the earl's outlying lands in the following places in Ireland:—

No. 12.—Balydogan in Co. Carlow. The name, I think, survives in Dunganstown or Bestfield, adjoining Oak Park demesne (which was probably included), near the town of Carlow.

Nos. 1, 3 and 14.—Drogheda, Coly (Castletowncooley, *Cuailnge*), in Co. Uriel, and Carlingford.

No. 15.—Wastyn in Co. Meath: now Vastina or Castletown-Kindalen in Westmeath.

No. 10.—The barony of Retouth: Ratoath in Meath.

No. 17.—Tyrdeglass and Lothar in the County of Mounester: now Terryglass (*Tir dá glas*) and Lorrha (*Lothra*) in Co. Tipperary.

Whether I shall be able to edit these inquisitions and offer them to the Society must remain for the present doubtful. The remaining documents include a number of writs and also inquisitions relating to the earl's lands in the Counties of Bucks, Essex, and Surrey, in England, and hardly concern us. Finally, document No. 26 is a summary of all the lands held by the earl with their values as found. It was evidently compiled from the previous inquisitions, and is of importance only as giving variants (mostly for the worse) of some of the names. Where these variants seem instructive I have noted them. In this document the total value of the earl's property in Ireland is given, according to the old extent, as £2,081 9s. 2½d., and according to the new extent, as £661 0s. 6¾d., or rather less than one-third of the former amount.

¹ Loughguile, see above.

² Arweghun: Probably Ardkeen in Upper Ards, though it is not easy to account for the form assumed. In John de Courcy's foundation Charter of St. Andrew in Ards, in his grant of tithes, he excepts those of his Castle of Archen: Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 1019. On Jan. 26, 1346, Thomas de Bredon had letters of presentation to the Church of Ardkeen, in the gift of the Crown by reason of the custody of the land and heir of William de Burgh: *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 20 Edw. III, p. 48b (27).

DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME IRISH SEALS

By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A., *Vice-President*

[Read 28 APRIL 1915]

IRISH sigillography has not attracted many students, and comparatively few Irish seals have been published. It is hoped that the following account of some early seals may be of interest. Of the seals dealt with in the present paper, those attached to the Howth documents are published by the kind permission of Mr J. C. Gaisford-St Lawrence, one of our *Fellows*, and the illustrations are from photographs of the original seals; others are from casts; one figure is drawn from an impression of a bronze matrix in the Royal Irish Academy's collection; another is photographed from an impression taken from the electrotype of a matrix no longer extant; while the remainder are reproduced from Dr John Lyon's drawings in the *Novum Registrum*,¹ by the permission of the Dean of Christ Church, and through the kind assistance of our *Fellow* the Rev. J. L. Robinson, M.R.I.A.

The most interesting seals are the three attached to deeds belonging to Mr. Gaisford-St Lawrence, now deposited on loan in the National Museum, and exhibited in the Art and Industrial section. Two of these deeds, which deal with a grant of land at Killester, have been calendared by the Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland in the Calendar of the Christ Church Deeds.² Killester, near Clontarf, was at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion the property of the Monastery of Holy Trinity; in the 14th and 15th centuries it was held by the White family under the Dean and Chapter, and on the marriage of Robert, Lord of Howth, to Alice White, in the latter part of the 15th century, it passed to the St Lawrence family. The first deed, which is a confirmation by Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, of a grant of the land of Killester by the canons of Holy Trinity to William Brun, dated *circa* 1177 A.D., is sealed with the archbishop's seal; this is red in colour and greatly defaced, the top, base and sides being completely broken away. The device was the standing figure of the archbishop vested, having his right hand apparently raised in benediction, and doubtless

¹ The *Novum Registrum* was compiled, 1741-66, by Dr John Lyon, a Minor Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

² *Twenty-third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland*, Appendix III, no. 468.

hoding a crozier or archbishop's cross in his left. It measures at present $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches (Plate XI, fig. 1). Dr Lawlor's Calendar of the *Liber Albus* contains an instrument concerning the donation of Archbishop Laurence O'Toole, dated 1364, in which it is stated that a charter of the archbishop, sealed with his seal, was exhibited, which was injured by age, but still legible. The seal had "the figure of a bishop standing with a staff in his left hand, and the legend SIGILLUM LAURENCII DUBLIN' ARCHIEPISCOPI."¹ This is an interesting fourteenth century account of what is evidently an impression of the same seal as that described above. The second is the confirmation of the same grant by Vivian, cardinal priest of St Stephen's in the Coelian Mount and papal legate; it is dated 1178 A.D. This is a small seal, red in colour; it is much broken, but was evidently pointed-oval; it measures at present $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The device shows the legate enthroned, wearing a cope and what looks like a labelled mitre in profile, (Plate XI, fig. 2). The inscription is much broken, but the remaining portion appears to read S SEPHANI IN CEL

The third deed is the grant by the canons of Holy Trinity of the lands of Killester to William Brun. The seal is of a brownish colour, and measures 3 by $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches. It is oval in shape. The device represents a seated figure vested in a robe with full sleeves and a hood, holding a cross in his right hand (Plate XI, fig. 3). It is probably intended for an effigy of the prior. The inscription is almost completely broken away, but the few remaining letters may be doubtfully read as + NTVS DUVELINE (?) It may be *conjecturally* restored thus: SIGILLUM PRIORIS ET CONVENTVS SCE TRINITATIS DUVELINE.

The next seals to be considered are in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy: they are impressions in sulphur apparently made many years ago. Some of these are of considerable interest, and the following may be described.² The first is the privy seal of Nicholas, Archbishop of Armagh. This is a small circular seal $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter. The device represents the archbishop kneeling in an attitude of adoration before a prelate carrying an archbishop's cross (St. Patrick?), and having his right hand raised in the act of blessing Nicholas (Plate XII, fig. 1). The inscription reads:—

+ SECRETV NICHOL' IYB'NIE. P'(MATIS) ?

There were two Primates of this name, Nicholas Mac Molissa, 1272–1303 A.D., and Nicholas Fleming, 1404–1415 A.D. Judging

¹ *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii, sec. c., p. 24.

² Prof. R. A. S. Macalister was kind enough to look over some of the seals with the writer.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

IRISH SEALS

by the style of the lettering in the inscription the seal may with probability be attributed to the former.

The next is the seal of Geoffrey, bishop of Ossory, either Geoffrey Turvill, 1244–50 A.D., or Geoffrey St Leger, 1260–87 A.D. This is a very beautiful seal, pointed oval, measuring $2\frac{9}{16}$ by $1\frac{11}{16}$ inches. The device is an effigy of the bishop in amice, alb, dalmatic, and chasuble, with a mitre on his head and a crozier turned inwards in his left hand, his right being raised in benediction. He stands on a corbel, and there is a canopy above his head. The background of the seal is diapered (Plate XII, fig. 4). The inscription reads:—

+ Galfredvs • dei • gratia • osseriensis • episco[PI]

A very imperfect impression of the seal of Geoffrey St Leger, bishop of Ossory, wanting the inscription, is described in the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, vol. iv, p. 710, No. 17,374.

The next is a pointed oval seal measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ by 2 inches. The device is an effigy of a bishop wearing amice, alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and stole, with a mitre on his head, and holding a crozier in his left hand. His right is raised in benediction, and below it is a small figure, apparently of an ecclesiastic. The bishop stands on a corbel and has a canopy over his head (Plate XII, fig. 3). The inscription—the centre portion of which is broken away—reads:—

* SIGILLV DNI RVRICI COPI DERENCIS

This is the seal of Rory O'Donnell, a bishop of Derry, 1529–1551 A.D. A woodcut of this seal will be found in the Ordnance Survey *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, 1837, p. 34, taken from an impression preserved in the records of the Augmentation Office, Westminster.

Among the remaining impressions are four taken from seals attached to the Down Petition, including the mysterious seal used by the Bishop of Down, which is apparently the seal of a bishop of Argyll, as it is so figured and described by Birch, *History of Scottish Seals*, vol. ii, p. 55, and fig. 81. There are also an impression of the remarkable, but much broken seal figured by Caulfield (*Sigilla* plate I, fig. 5), and attributed by him to Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, 1345–61 A.D.; and a much broken impression of a seal of a bishop standing on a corbel, holding a crozier and having a spiral decoration at the side of the figure. The inscription is entirely defaced, but upon the lid of the box containing the impression the word Waterford can be read, and it is probably the seal of Richard Francis, bishop of Waterford, 1338–48 A.D., as it agrees with the description of a seal of that prelate in the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, vol. iv, p. 706, No. 17,360.

This opportunity may also be taken to illustrate an impression of the very interesting seal of the clergy of the diocese of Meath, the leaden matrix of which was preserved in the diocesan registry until about 1888, but has since most unhappily disappeared; fortunately some electrotype copies of the matrix had been made previous to its loss by our late *Member*, the Rev. William Falkiner; one of these recently passed into the writer's possession, and the illustration is taken from a plaster cast made from it. The seal, which is pointed-oval, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $\frac{3}{16}$ inches. The device probably represents St Findian, half-length, with a nimbus encircling his head, his right hand raised in benediction, he holds a book in his left hand. Three estoiles are placed on each side of the figure, which rises from a trefoiled arch; a lamp hangs below this, and underneath are effigies of five erect figures vested in ecclesiastical habiliments to represent the clergy of the diocese (Plate XII, fig. 2). The inscription reads:—

+ SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CLERI · MIDENSIS :

This is a fine example of the seal-engraver's art; the original matrix was probably made in the thirteenth century.

There is also in the Royal Irish Academy's collection a small bronze seal-matrix stated to have been found in Ireland, and hitherto unpublished. The matrix, which is circular, measures $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in diameter, and has a small looped handle. The device is a heater-shaped shield of arms bearing a *fleur-de-lis* with a star in base on the dexter and a crescent in sinister base. (Plate XI, fig. 4). The inscription reads:—* S'ROGERWS · MARCHALL.¹

The matrix is probably not later than the fourteenth century.

The following seals are described and illustrated from Dr Lyon's drawings of them in the *Novum Registrum*. The earliest is the seal of John Harold, attached to a deed dated *circa* 1206 A.D., in which John Harold grants to Holy Trinity Church half a mark from land in St Wereburgh's parish and the same sum from land in St Audoen's parish. The seal, no longer attached to the original document and only known to us from Dr Lyon's drawing, is circular and measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter: the device is a *fleur-de-lis* (what looks like a crosslet fitchy between the centre and the side leaves was probably part of the flower in the original seal) (Plate XIII, fig. 6). The inscription reads + SIGILLVM : IOH̄IS HAROLD.

John Harold was no doubt a member of the family whose name is perpetuated in the suburb of Harold's Cross.

¹ Mr G. H. Orpen suggested to the writer that the owner of the seal might possibly be identified with Roger Bigod, fifth earl of Norfolk and Marschall of England, who held lands in Ireland. He points out, however, that the inscription is peculiar in reading ROGERWS instead of ROGERI, and MARCHALL instead of MARESCHALL. MARCHALL, as engraved, has the appearance of a surname.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

IRISH SEALS

The next in date is the equestrian seal of William de Hestham, attached to a deed dated 1218 A.D. A small portion of the original seal still remains attached to the document now preserved in the Irish Record Office with the other Christ Church Deeds, and this fragment confirms the general accuracy of Dr Lyon's drawing. The seal as drawn by him is circular, and measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. The device is an effigy of William de Hestham galloping to the right, holding a sword in his right hand and having his shield suspended round his neck (Plate XIII, fig. 5). The inscription reads + SIGILLVM WILLI DE HESTHAM.

The next is the beautiful and interesting seal and counterseal, or *secretum*, of Nicholas de St Edward, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. It was attached to a deed dated 1248 A.D., in which the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity and the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital agree to afford each other mutual aid in emergencies and matters concerning their respective establishments. The original seal has completely perished, but fortunately Dr Lyon's drawing has preserved a record of it. It was circular and measured $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter; the device was the Agnus Dei carrying a banner; there was ornamental foliage below the lamb (Plate XIII, fig. 1). The inscription reads + SIGILLVM PRIORIS DE KILMEINAN.

The counterseal is of pointed oval shape, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches (Plate XIII, fig. 2). The device is similar to that of the seal; the inscription reads:—

+ SECRETVM PRIORIS DE KILMAINAN.

The use of a counter seal, which was common in the thirteenth century, was doubtless to prevent the removal of a seal from one document and its transfer to another for fraudulent purposes; when the wax was impressed on one side only it was possible to cut away the face of the seal with a heated knife, but when the wax was impressed on both sides this process was rendered considerably more difficult.¹

Dr Lyon also drew a seal of a subsequent Prior of Kilmainham, that of Roger Utlaugh. The original seal was attached to a deed dated 1318 A.D., and a small portion (about a third) still remains. Dr Lyon's drawing shows that the design of the seal, which is circular, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, is the same as the last, but the inscription is different; it reads:—

+ SIGILL : CONVENT · DOMUS HOSPITALIS IN HIBERNIA

¹ *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. xv, p. 437.

(Plate XIII, fig. 3). The counterseal is also circular, and measures 1 inch in diameter. The device is a shield bearing the arms of the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, *silver a cross gules*. The shield has a bird like a swan on each side, and is enclosed in an ornamental panel (Plate XIII, fig. 4). The inscription reads + SI · FRIS ROGERI OUTLAWE.¹

Roger Utlaugh was one of the most distinguished of the Priors of Kilmainham: he combined his office with that of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was for a time Lord Deputy as well.² His seal is therefore of considerable interest. There is a description of the seal of William FitzThomas, another Prior of Kilmainham, in the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, vol. iv, p. 717. The seal is stated to be imperfect, the device being a shield of the arms of FitzThomas, *a saltire charged with a cross paty*, and a helmet surmounted by the Agnus Dei. It is dated 1430 A.D.

The last seal to be described is that of the Official of Glendaloch, which was attached to a deed dated 1314 A.D. A fragment of the original seal still remains. Dr Lyon's drawing shows that it bore the effigy of St Kevin represented habited as an abbot with amice, alb, dalmatic, and chasuble, holding a crozier turned outwards in his right hand and a book in his left. It is possible that the curious flat cap on the Saint's head is an error in the drawing, and that in the original seal it was an exaggerated tonsure. The seal is pointed-oval in shape, and measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The inscription round the edge of the seal had evidently disappeared at the time Dr Lyon made his drawing, but in the body of it can be read the Saint's name BEAT : KEIVINVS (Plate XI, fig. 5).

¹ FRIS in the drawing is probably an error for FRIS (*fratris*).

² D'Alton, *History of County Dublin*, p. 612.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

IRISH SEALS

MURAL PAINTINGS IN HOLY CROSS ABBEY

By H. S. CRAWFORD, B.E., M.R.I.A.

DURING the execution of recent work by the Board of Works at Holy Cross Abbey, some markings were noticed on the walls of the north transept, and the cleaning of the surface disclosed a complete hunting scene. It has already been illustrated in the Board's Report for 1912-13, but is shewn here (Plate XIV) with the original colours reproduced. The stag crouches behind an oak tree and seems to have been just discovered by an attendant or huntsman, who stands in front of the tree blowing a horn and holding a hound in leash. Next to him, and at a slightly higher level, is the principal personage who is in the act of drawing his bow; behind him is a third hunter also holding a bow. No quivers are represented, the arrows being carried in the belts at the backs of the archers. The bow-strings are shown as thick cords, and the strands are marked by diagonal lines.

All the figures wear doublet and hose and have long-pointed shoes, which are dotted over with black lines to indicate that the hair was left on the leather. The attendant with the hound wears a hood which covers the shoulders and has an aperture for the face; the other figures have plumed hats or caps. Their costume indicates the beginning of the fifteenth century, or even an earlier date.

The tree is roughly drawn and represented with oak leaves and acorns; traces of a second tree can be seen behind the stag. The painting occupies portions of the west and north walls, and is placed from 6 to 7 feet above the floor level. The large tree fills the angle, half being on each wall. The entire space covered is 4 feet in depth and 13 feet 2 inches in length, 9 feet being on the west, and 4 feet 2 inches on the north wall.

The discovery of this painting is of great interest, as it belongs to a class of decoration very rare in Ireland; the only other examples being at Knockmoy Abbey, Co. Galway, Clare Island Abbey, Co. Mayo, and St. Audoen's Church, Dublin¹. It is uncertain whether the figures at Knockmoy were coloured, as they are now almost obliterated; I thought, however, that I saw a trace of colour some years ago on the representation of the Trinity there.² Those at

[¹ But see Mr Westropp's Note on Mural Paintings at Adare, *infra* p. 151.]—Ed.

² See *Journal, R. S. A. I.*, vol. xxxv (1905), p. 420.

Clare Island retain their colouring, and have been recently described.¹

It is therefore fortunate that the Holy Cross figures retain a portion of the colouring, which evidently at one time covered the entire design. The colours which survive are red, red-brown, and buff or flesh colour. Red appears on the edge of the hood worn by the attendant, on the rings or straps round the horn blown by the same figure, and on the rope by which the dog is held. Brown is seen on the stag, on the acorns, and on the doublet of the horn blower. The latter figure also shows traces of colour on the face and hands, and probably had hose of a yellowish colour, though this is now uncertain owing to the staining of the plaster. The only trace of colour on the other figures is pale buff on the cap of the first archer; this may possibly be a last trace of brown similar to that on the stag, but it is more probable that the cap was always lighter in colour.

The plaster has been purposely broken at the face and hand of the last-mentioned figure, and in several other places there are small dents or hollows made by a pointed instrument, such as a spear or arrow.

Traces of another design have been found on the wall of the same transept where it joins the south wall of the aisle; the subject has not been made out, but the lines appear to represent four pillars placed close together and having wreaths rolled spirally round them. This suggests one of those architectural compositions often used to frame or enclose a figure, but the wall space available is hardly sufficient for a figure and four other pillars beyond it.

Anyone wishing to examine these mural paintings should do so without much delay, as the green algæ removed from the walls are beginning to grow over them again. I believe their growth might be checked by painting the surface with a solution of corrosive sublimate or other poison.

¹ See *Proceedings, R. I. A.*, vol. xxxi, part 2, p. 31.



FALCONER, LITHO. DUBLIN.

three putlog holes behind the altar, probably for some wooden altar piece, while the altar in the south-east corner of the transept had a

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WALL PAINTING AT HOLY CROSS ABBEY

MISCELLANEA

Paintings at Adare "Abbey," Co. Limerick.—Long ago, in *Memorials of Adare*, Lord Dunraven recorded traces of paintings in the chancel of the beautiful Franciscan Friary, beside the Maigue, in his demesne. As no one has since attempted a detailed study of the building (though notes and views have been published) a few notes on the internal ornament and timber work may not be out of place. The convent was founded in 1464, by Thomas Earl of Kildare and his wife Johanna : and was dedicated to St Michael, on 19th Nov., 1466, with its church, cloister, both sacristies and the cemetery. Margaret Fitz Gibbon (wife of Cornelius O'Dea, who died 1483) built the great chapel of the Blessed Virgin ; Cornelius O'Sullivan (died 1492) the belfry ; John of Desmond and Margaret Fitz Maurice, the two lesser chapels ; M. O'Hickey, the north panels and stalls of the church. This is recorded from the Convent Register, extant in the late 16th century, by Father Mooney. The Convent, though roofless, retained some of its glass windows at that time ; the plate and crosses were preserved at Cork. It was " stored again with friars " in 1572, but granted to Sir H. Wallop in 1585.

The credence table, with a little piscina in the back, stands in the south wall to the left of the altar. There are clear traces of painting on the stone work, a diaper of reddish-orange and greenish-blue all round the head and sides of the recess, and a figure in the space between the arch and the hood moulding. The chamfer of the piscina was painted a deep crimson. The mouldings of the opposite recess in the north wall were relieved by bands of a purer blood-red. I recall traces of several figures on the plaster, in red and green robes, when I visited the ruin on several occasions in my boyhood, before 1875. The second sedile in the south wall of the chancel has bands of greenish-blue on the sides and arch, and there is a dim red-robed figure opposite, in the sedile in the north wall. There are several indications of woodwork in the church ; the chancel had a very slightly curved ceiling, the nave a coved one. The bell ropes came down a sloped opening in the north side, reached from the little room over the south walk of the cloister evidently by wooden steps. The ceilings under the belfry and the lofts were of wood. There are three putlog holes behind the altar, probably for some wooden altar piece, while the altar in the south-east corner of the transept had a

wooden top and sides. The altar slabs, with the five symbolic crosses, representing the five wounds of our Lord, are illustrated by Dunraven. There are few traces of later work in the building; the most notable are the late window and washing place in the south recess of the belfry. Lord Dunraven's theory of the extreme poverty of the restored Abbey, based on a tin chalice and paten found buried in it, loses force when we recall the usual custom of burying such objects with a priest.

The plate of this building consisted of a beautiful silver gilt ciborium, six or seven chalices, some gilt, and a silver processional cross. Several of its sumptuous, but decayed, vestments, were also shown to Father Mooney, when in Cork, about 1590.¹—T. J. WESTROPP.

Earthwork near Malahide Castle.—When last visiting Malahide Castle, having some leisure on my hands, I explored the surroundings with some care, looking for traces of outworks. Though unsuccessful in my object, I found an unmarked earthwork which I may venture to record. It is to all appearance a ring fort of the normal type. The works have been defaced by a sunken way cut into the middle for gravel; a pit 8 feet deep has been dug out, 27 feet across, leaving a mere crescent of the original platform, a ring of from 9 to 12 feet wide, remaining. Outside this is a fosse, 9 to 12 feet wide, a ring 6 feet wide, a second fosse (or interspace) 21 feet wide and 5 feet deep, a ring 9 feet wide, a third and outer fosse, 6 to 9 feet wide, in the bottom, and rarely 4 feet deep. It is, of course, impossible to say from the mere aspect whether this ring mound was a *liss* of considerable antiquity or the base of a *breteche*. So commonplace a structure might be of any period from the bronze age to the 14th century, and the gravel pit has, too, probably destroyed any evidence that a careful exploration might have disclosed.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Massy Family.—This well-known Munster family has never yet had its history and connexion with the Cheshire line elucidated on scientific lines. As I long since pointed out in these pages,² the family tradition is absolutely wrong in identifying Col. Hugh Massy of Duntrileague, the founder of the Irish line, with either Hugh,

¹ See Lord Dunraven's *Memorials of Adare*. *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxv, Sect C, p. 376-379. *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, A. Champneys, pp. 168 *sqq.*, 178, 181 *sqq.*, 195.

² Vol. xxi, p. 596.

grandson of John Massy of Coddington, Cheshire, or his son Hugh. The latter was under full age in 1670, while the Cromwellian officer was evidently of age when he appears in Irish records in 1649. Col. Hugh Massy registered his armorial bearings in the Ulster office as: "Argent, a chevron between three lozenges sa.," and is described as of Chester in 1649. The "Genealogical Account of the Massy family," (1890), identifies him,¹ with a Hugh Massy (son of John Massy of Coddington, Cheshire), whose will, dated May, 1657, was proved 12th September, 1659. Col. Hugh Massy survived that date for over thirty years. These arms have so curious a bearing on the question of his descent that I think a note on the subject will be of interest to more than the connexions of his family.

The Masseys, or Massys, claim descent from Hamon of Masci in Normandy, who held Dunham (afterwards Dunham-Massy) and other lands under Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in 1089. There is no need to follow the history of his numerous descendants. The earliest version of the very ancient coat of arms was *quarterly gules and argent*; still later, *a lion passant of the second*, was added in the first quarter in the senior line; *three fleurs-de-lys* in the Coddington line, and *three scallops* in the Tatton line, while the colours were reversed argent and gules with a bend azure in the arms of the Massys of Timperley. Few such records of *differenced* arms are attainable; the Massys of Potington² changed *argent* to *or* with *three fleurs-de-lys argent* on the 1st and 4th quarters gules; the Massys of Broxton held the Coddington variant with *a canton argent at the dexter chief*; another coat of the Potington branch placed *a bend sable between six roses gules* in the 2nd and 3rd quarters *argent* and the Dunham senior line (not content with the lion passant in the 1st quarter) changed *argent* to *or* in the 2nd and 3rd quarters. So far, however, the simple ancient coat was recognisable under all this heraldic embroidery.³

There was, however, another coat, held by the Massys of Cheshire and by their descendants in Munster. *Argent, a chevron between three lozenges sable*, and this is identical with the coat of Massy of Sale, a scion of the Dunham line, springing from Robert, second brother of Hamon, Baron Massy of Dunham, in 1216. Here again the heraldic history is equally variant, because at first the family used the coat of the De Sale family, *sable a chevron between three*

¹ P. 169.

² For a curious dispute between them and the Massys of Tatton in 1378, see *Cheshire Visitations* (Harleian Publications), p. 169.

³ See Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i, 344; vol. ii, pp. 198, 372. *Harleian MSS.*, 1424, pp. 100, 108. Potington line, *ibid.*, pp. 100-104, and 1505, p. 104, Dunham, 1424, p. 108. Tatton, *ibid.*, p. 101, and 1505, p. 104. Timperley, 1424 p. 101,

lozenges argent :¹ Richard de Masci, son of Robert, having married an heiress of the De Sales about the end of the 13th century.

Now to all appearance the heraldic evidence seems fairly certain that the Irish founder was (or was considered) of the line of the Massys of Sale, but, looking farther, strange to say, we only find ourselves in another heraldic morass. There was a family, Crosslegh of Crosslegh, who possessed a coat identical in all save colour with that of De Sale, being *gules a chevron between three lozenges argent*. A branch of the Masseys in Shropshire married an heiress of this line, and like the Masseys of Sale, reversed the tinctures bearing the altered shield as their own as *argent a chevron between three lozenges gules*.²

It is strange that the name "Hugh," so common in the Dunham, the Tatton, and in the Irish line, does not seem to occur among the Masseys of Sale. I will only further call attention to an interesting ancient window in Congleton Church, where, with the figure of a man wearing a tabard with the arms of Massey of Sale, occurs the legend : "Orate pro bono statu Robti Massy arm. et Petronillae consortis suae et Robti filii dei Robti Massy qui hanc fenestram fieri (*sic*) fecit Anno 1493."³

From the Coddington line sprang Major Edward Massy and his brother Richard, who both died in Ireland, the first at Abbeyleix in 1670. It is strange that Hugh Massy, who founded so wealthy and influential a line (giving two barons, Massy and Clarina, to the Irish peerage and the extinct baronets of Doonass) should be unrecorded. I fear the family genealogists rest content with the pseudo-authority of an untrustworthy little history compiled late in the 18th century. It gives no better authority for its demonstrably inaccurate pedigree than "Testat Hugo Baro de Massy," who lived in that most uncritical period of genealogy, 1782, and is not known to have been even a dilettante in such research. It is unfortunate that like so many entries relating to English settlers in Ireland, the confirmation or recognition of Capt. Hugh Massy's arms, instead of telling of his parentage, only states vaguely as to the antiquity of his family. It is dated 16th March 1648, and signed by Dr W. Roberts, the Ulster King at Arms. It describes Captain Hugh Massy as Captain of Horse under Chudleigh (Chidley) Coote; the said Captain Hugh Massy "served against the Irish rebels in the battle fought against them the 8th August 1647, under the command of the Honorable Col. Michael Jones" [at Lynch's, Knock, Co. Meath], "The said

¹ Ormerod, *loc. cit.*, p. 424, 443. Harleian MSS., 1424, p. 112.

² Ormerod, *loc. cit.*, iii, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 20.

Captain having served in martial employments both of Horse and foot for the space of seven years last past, he being descended from a very ancient family of the name of Massy in Cheshire." The bearings given are, Arms, argent between three lozenges a chevron sable charged with a lion passant or langued gules; Crest, a bulls head gules, armed sable, coupé, issuant from a ducal coronet.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Holy Wells near Ballinskelligs, Co. Kerry.—There are at least three saints' wells in this district. The first, that of St Buonia, is situated in a glen about four miles north-west of Ballinskelligs; the interesting early remains at this place known as Killabuonia, (including the "Priest's Grave," a curious structure, which when complete exactly resembled in shape the metal work shrine of St Mainchin) have been described in the *Journal* by Mr Lynch.¹ The well is merely a small spring issuing from the ground, and does not present any remarkable feature, except several heaps of small stones left by visitors. I was informed that the people of the district resort to it on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, but I did not hear any particular day of the year mentioned. The second well, dedicated to St Finan, is close to a house on the sea-shore near the village of Keel; at this point the road from Killabuonia reaches the shore of St Finan's Bay, the distance being a mile and a quarter, and the direction south-west. This well, like the former, is devoid of striking features; it is visited on the 16th of March. The third, that of St Michael, is situated in a field near the shore of Ballinskelligs Bay, about half a mile north-east of the Hotel and Cable Station. This well is of greater interest than the others as it is covered by a stone cell of bee-hive shape, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and 9 feet in diameter. Rounds are performed here on the eve of St Michael's day, and many small objects, such as medals, crosses, beads, buttons, scapulars, nails, and threads from shawl fringes, may be seen deposited between the stones of the cell. Similar objects are often placed in the font at the neighbouring Abbey.

The photograph (Plate XV, fig. 1) shows the well and covering cell, the doorway of which faces south-east, probably because the ground slopes in that direction.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Hole-Stone at Ballinskelligs.—A fine example of the *Hole-Stone* may be seen lying on the beach near the Abbey. Owing to its shape and weight it is unlikely to have been moved to any great distance by the sea, and it probably stood in that portion of the

¹ Vol xxxii, p. 45.

graveyard which was destroyed by the action of the waves more than eighty years ago. The dimensions are length 4 feet 6 inches, breadth 3 feet, thickness 8 inches; and the material purple-slate, a fine-grained stone of great density and weight. The perforation—3 inches in diameter at the centre, enlarging to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the front surface and 4 inches at the back—is placed at a distance of 21 inches from the upper end, and is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches nearer to one edge than to the other. The illustration (Plate XV, fig. 2) shows it placed upright against the wall of the graveyard.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Holed-Stone at Newtown, near Trim.—The sketch shows a holed-stone which has not, so far as I know, been hitherto noticed. It is placed on a grave about 60 feet north of the nearest angle of the east wall of the old cathedral at Newtown.

The monument is a rough limestone flag, 16 inches in breadth and 5 inches in thickness; it stands 2 feet above ground, and the



HOLED STONE AT NEWTOWN, NEAR TRIM.

upper angles are slightly rounded. The perforation is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches below the top, and tapers from about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at each face of the stone to half that size in the centre, thus exhibiting the usual shape of such openings.

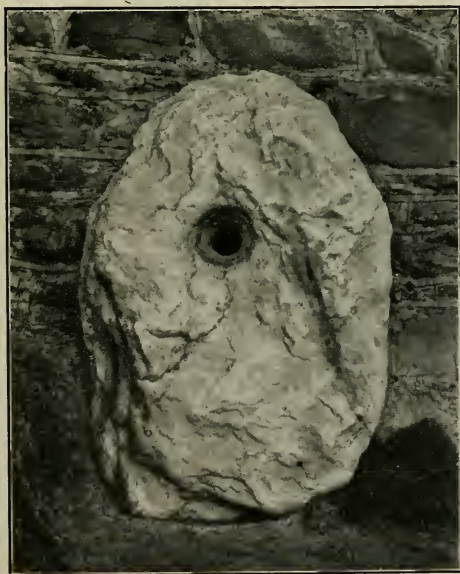
The people of the district do not seem to attribute any remarkable qualities to it.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

ERRATUM.—*Accounts of a Dublin Harpsichord Maker* (vol. xliv, p. 338).—On p. 340, the price of Hon. Mrs Herbert's piano should be £20 9s. 6d.; the figure £30 12s. 7½d. is properly the total of the account. Comparison of the prices of *new* instruments shows that the average price of a harpsichord was £30 5s. 8d.; of a piano £17 12s. 7d. The only new spinet cost £11 7s. 6d.

V. E. SMYTH.



ST. MICHAEL'S WELL, BALLINSKELLIGS



HOLED STONE, BALLINSKELLIGS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

(Those marked (*) are by Members of the Society)

- * *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.* Edited by F. ELDRINGTON BALL, Honorary Litt. D., Dublin. With an Introduction by the RIGHT REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin. In Six Volumes. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1910-1914.

THE issue of the sixth and concluding volume of Swift's *Correspondence*, edited with characteristic care by our distinguished Vice-President, Dr Eldrington Ball, must not pass unnoticed in the *Journal* of a Society for which, in the past, he has done so much. A period of four years has elapsed since the appearance of the first volume of the series, the editing of which Dr Ball undertook on the lamented death of Mr C. Litton Falkiner, who had arranged to carry the work through. Each succeeding volume has displayed the same accuracy and the same intimate acquaintance with the Ireland of Swift's day, as well as with the course of English political life and the statesmen who guided the destinies of the nation, during the reigns of the last Stuart sovereign and the first two of her Hanoverian successors.

Swift, in his own line, stands unrivalled as a letter writer; his epistles are bright and natural, and in them stands revealed the real Swift. The Dean is rarely ponderous, even when penning letters to men of mark; and the gossip and chat in which he indulges with his intimates is always pleasant reading. Swift still exercises a marvellous influence, and in an age when so many literary giants of past days have become discredited and lost their influence, it is a high tribute to the attractiveness of the great Dean's style, and the fascination of his personality, that a new edition of his works should have been called for. Fortunate is it that an editor so fully qualified as Dr Ball should have been found for the *Correspondence*; he is always trustworthy, and his notes afford the fullest available information on every point with which they deal. An item of much interest was the discovery that Esther Van Homrigh's name was

enrolled among the free citizens of Dublin in the year 1688, as daughter of Bartholomew Van Homrigh, a Dutch merchant of the city, which proves her to have been older than had been supposed.

The Bishop of Ossory calls attention to the fact that Swift and his friends, Pope and Arbuthnot, were Freemasons, a fact which the Bishop thinks should be more widely known. "This makes it tolerably certain that the satirical 'Letter from the Grand Mistress of the Freemasons to George Faulkner, Printer,' printed about 1728, is a genuine production of Swift's pen."

Above all, Dr Ball has been at pains to attain an accurate text, and with this object in view, he has used all the manuscript material available in Trinity College, Dublin, in the British Museum, and in private custody. Mr John Murray, with great liberality, placed his collection of Swift's autograph letters at Dr Ball's disposal, and the collection formed by John Forster, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, was also consulted. In addition, Dr Ball had the advantage of access to much new material preserved in the Public Record Offices of England and Ireland.

Swift's strong feelings of attachment to the Earl of Oxford and his family find ample expression in the letters, and there is much of the deepest interest in the mutual interchange of their views; the same remark applies to the correspondence in the case of Bolingbroke and Arbuthnot. Alexander Pope and Swift were on such close terms of friendship, and corresponded in so free and unfettered a style, that their letters form delightful reading. Alderman John Barber, Swift's printer, Knightley Chetwode, Charles Ford, John Gay, Lord Orrery, Matthew Prior, Thomas Sheridan, and the Rev. Thomas Walls, are a few of those with whom the Dean more frequently corresponded, as being admitted to his intimate friendship; in their cases, the letters assume a more domestic character, and numberless details of town and country life at the period, which might not otherwise be available, cannot fail to interest. A large portion of the early correspondence consists of that carried on with Dr William King, Archbishop of Dublin, dealing specially with the remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts, taxes levied by the Crown on the clergy of the Established Church. The relations between the two men became greatly strained, and the Archbishop, when acting as a Lord Justice, owing to suspicions of the Dean's complicity with the Jacobite party, caused a packet addressed to him to be opened. There is much concerning Esther Johnson and Esther Van Homrigh in the volumes, but no new letters are forthcoming which in any way help further to explain the relations between Swift and the former.

Dr Bernard, Bishop of Ossory, who was Dean of St. Patrick's

at the time of writing it, contributes an Introduction, which brings the entire correspondence under review, and he deals with it in a masterly and attractive fashion. An exhaustive Index has been compiled by Miss C. Jacob, which adds much to the value of the work. The illustrations are appropriate and well chosen; the frontispiece to vol. vi—St. Patrick's Deanery, taken from a London publication of 1714—is of much interest, as the small house attached to the main building appears to be that alluded to by Swift in a letter to Stearne of 10th June, 1708, when the latter was Dean of St. Patrick's.

H. F. B.

* *Records of the Town of Limavady, 1609 to 1808.* Edited by E. M. F.-G. BOYLE. Londonderry: *Sentinel* Office. 1912.

MR BOYLE is well known as an authority on the history of Limavady, on which subject he has contributed a valuable article to the *Society's Journal*. Many people know nothing about Limavady save Thackeray's silly doggerel, copied *ad nauseam* by guide books for the benefit of silly tourists. After this publication there will be no excuse for such ignorance. Mr Boyle prefixes an introduction, tracing the history of the place from the time of the birth of St Canice and the Synod of Drumceat (in the first paragraph of this introduction, by the way, an ugly misprint, *Aehd* for *Aedh*, leaps to the eye) down to the beginning of the last century. This part of the book is illustrated with a photograph of the Corporation Seal. The records, as edited by Mr Boyle, begin in 1659. The minutes are carefully kept, each entry beginning with the list of members present. These lists, which except for genealogists would be meaningless names, Mr Boyle illumines by footnotes, giving biographical particulars whenever such are available. The records themselves deal with the subjects that usually occupied the attention of the corporations of county towns: the times of markets, repairing roads and reclaiming waste lands, abating nuisances, electing officers, providing a pair of stocks, franchising and disfranchising, &c., &c. There are many interesting sidelights on history in this part of the book. The book ends with the text of the oaths administered to different officials of the town, translations of royal grants and charters, a long list of authorities consulted, a list of the representatives of Limavady in the Irish House of Commons, and a good index. Mr Boyle has made a valuable contribution to Irish local history.

Beside the picture of the seal mentioned above there are four other illustrations, including a portrait of Col. Ross, Provost, 1789–1793, and the Provost's chain of the Corporation.

R. A. S. M.

* *The Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul ; Gleanings in the Italian Field of Celtic Epigraphy* ; two Papers in the Proceedings of the British Academy by the Right Hon. Principal SIR JOHN RHYS, LITT.D., F.B.A.

SIR JOHN RHYS easily takes the lead among writers who have used the English language as their vehicle of studies and researches on the subject of ancient Celtic epigraphy. This *Journal* has from time to time been enriched with his papers on Irish Ogham inscriptions, and has been privileged to bring under notice and discussion others of his writings, amounting in some cases to volumes of considerable bulk, dealing with early inscriptions in the Celtic languages. The range of his investigations has covered Ireland, all Britain, and the two Gauls. In most instances the material of his studies has been personally examined by him on the spot, whether the spot happened to be in a Hebridean islet or in a remote valley of the Alps. Two of his more recent papers remain to be noticed. Both are printed in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. vi. The earlier paper is entitled "The Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul." The second, dealing with the same region, and largely with the same material, has for title "Gleanings in the Italian Field of Celtic Epigraphy."

In Transalpine Gaul the older Celtic inscriptions used the Greek alphabet. In Cisalpine Gaul, on the other hand, the Etruscan alphabet is used instead. In each region, the extension of Roman power brought in the adoption of the Roman alphabet among the Celts, during the comparatively brief period in which Celtic speech and its characteristic nomenclature held out against Roman influence. Most of the Cisalpine inscriptions reproduced and discussed by Sir John Rhys are in the Etruscan alphabet. Hence a certain amount of ambiguity, for this alphabet appears not to have distinguished in writing between P and B, T and D, K and G, using only the tenues P, T and K. The extant inscriptions, with few exceptions, like our own Oghams, are rather disappointing and often baffling in their content, consisting of little more than personal names. Without careful comparison of these names with others known to be Celtic, there would be great difficulty in deciding to what language the inscriptions belonged. Indeed it is quite possible that some older language or languages survived the Celtic occupation of the southern Alpine slopes, and that some of the names recorded in these "Celtic" inscriptions are not themselves Celtic. The Celts, like the Greeks, evidently delighted in an immense variety of personal names. In

Ireland it is easy to trace how the multiplicity of names in the Oghams and the older strata of the genealogies dwindles gradually in the later genealogies and the annals, until we reach a time when a limited number of names, a few score at most, sufficed to meet the whole demand. With that ancient multiplicity, we naturally cannot expect to find, and we do not find, any close similarity between the names in fashion among the Cisalpine Celts and those in fashion among the ancient Celts of these islands. But the instances selected by Sir John Rhŷs for comparison and elucidation show that the Celtic names of Transalpine Gaul form a sort of transition between the two fashions.

In dealing with these ancient Celtic names, the main aim of study is necessarily towards explanation by means of known Celtic words. If the explanation is often elusive, the fault does not rest with Sir John Rhŷs, who leaves no stone unturned in his own Cymric, in Irish, or in the older Celtic speech, to find a satisfactory clue in every instance. Here it may be noted that if Sir John is justified in likening the penultimate syllable of Irish names like *Baithene* to the penultimate of the Cisalpine *Raneni*, he must assume that the Cisalpine language or dialect anticipated by centuries the Irish process of producing a long vowel by compensation for loss of a consonant before the liquid (*n*), for, in manuscript Irish, without compensatory lengthening there are no long vowels in the unstressed syllables.

The case forms, as explained by Rhys, are of great interest. He seems to have fairly established the dative in *-ui* (developed from *-oi*, like Greek φ with iota subscript) for *O*-stems. The corresponding Irish pre-manuscript form was *-u*, indicated by the MS. form *-oi* from *IO*-stems and by the *U*-coloured consonant of the dative in *O*-stems. But for other details and a great abundance of illustrative matter valuable and suggestive to the student, direct reference to Sir John Rhŷs's papers will be amply rewarded.

J. MACN.

PROCEEDINGS

67th Yearly Session.

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on WEDNESDAY, the 28TH OF APRIL, 1915, at 8 15 p.m., COUNT PLUNKETT, K.C.H.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

Vice-Presidents—E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Francis Elrington Ball, LITT.D., M.R.I.A., J.P., John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A., T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Fellows :—B. R. Townley Balfour, M.A., M.R.I.A., D.L., James Coleman, Henry Courtenay, I.S.O., J.P., Rev. M. J. Curran, William R. Dawson, M.D., Edwin Fayle, Lucas White King, C.S.I., LL.D., Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*, P. J. O'Reilly, G. W. Place, Andrew Robinson, M.V.O., Rev. J. L. Robinson, M.A., Andrew Roycroft, D. Carolan Rushe, B.A., William Cotter Stubbs, M.A., M.R.I.A., John F. Weldrick, Henry Bantry White, *Hon. Treas.*

Members :—Miss Anna Barton, Mrs. H. M. Bennet, J. J. Buckley, Michael Buggy, Miss Carolan, Sir R. Newman Chambers, William Chamney, T. S. C. Dagg, Miss Isabella Daniel, W. J. Dargan, M.D., F. W. Deane, Miss Isabel Denning, George Duncan, Rev. Edward Goff, B.A., P. J. Griffith, Francis Guilbride, J.P., Miss Marion Harman, Rev. John Healy, D.D., J. R. B. Jennings, J.P., W. B. Joyce, H. G. Leask, Mrs. Annie Long, John P. McKnight, A. V. Montgomery, Rev. David Mullan, M.A., James Nichols, J. H. F. Nixon, F.R.G.S., J.P., Rev. T. W. O'Ryan, C.C., Miss E. M. Pim, Miss U. T. E. Powell, Miss M. Reddington, R. B. Sayers, Edward Weber Smyth, J.P., Mrs. E. Weber Smyth, Lieut.-Col. P. B. Villiers Tuthill, Mrs. Villiers Tuthill, F. P. Thunder, Dr. Vanston, K.C., Miss Edyth G. Warren, Miss Mary Ellen Warren, W. J. Wilkinson, Herbert Wood.

Associate Members :—Mrs. T. Dargan, W. G. Gogan, James J. Healy, Sir James Digges La Touche, Mrs. M. McGrane, A. R. Montgomery, Miss Edith M. Nichols, Miss Muriel E. Nichols, Rev. Canon G. Digby Scott, M.A., Frank Stokes.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellow and Associate Members were elected:—

FELLOW.

Harmsworth, Cecil Bisshopp, M.P., 28 Montagu Square, London, W.: proposed by William C. Stubbs, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Bullen, George Ebsworth, Curator and Secretary, Herts County Museum, St. Alban's, Herts : proposed by William Ross-Lewin Lowe, *Member*.

Heller, Madam Gwen Cosslett, 4 Sydney Terrace, Upper Leeson Street, Dublin : proposed by Charles M'Neill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

La Touche, Sir James John Digges, K.C.S.I., 53 Raglan Road, Dublin ; proposed by G. W. Place, *Fellow*.

La Touche, Lady Digges, 53 Raglan Road, Dublin : proposed by G. W. Place, *Fellow*.

Townshend, Miss Maude, 32 Hollybank Avenue, Ranelagh, Dublin : proposed by Miss Edyth Warren, *Member*.

The accounts for 1914 as audited were submitted by the Hon. Treasurer and passed.

The following papers were submitted and referred to the Council for publication :—

1. " Descriptions of some Irish Seals." By E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Vice-President*.

2. " Sculptured Stones of the Old Bridge of Athlone." By Lord Walter FitzGerald, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

A series of lantern views of the antiquities of Trim and its neighbourhood, with descriptive comments, was exhibited by P. J. O'Reilly, *Fellow*. An account of Bective Abbey, with plan and illustrations, was read by Harold G. Leask, *Member*, and referred to the Council for publication.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 6th July, 1915.

On Thursday, 29th April, about fifty members drove by motor chars-à-banc to Bective and Trim, visiting by the way the great earthen mound at Ratoath, locally said, as was stated by a resident, to contain a chamber of which the position is known. At Bective the ruins of the ancient church of Clady and of Bective Abbey were examined, and at the latter Mr H. G. Leask, *Member*, pointed out the various features, showing how the buildings had been altered both before and after the suppression. Proceeding thence to Newtown, the Members examined the remains of the Priory of St John the Baptist, the Priory of SS. Peter and Paul, the Cathedral and parish churches. At Trim they were kindly received at Talbot Castle by Mr A. V. Montgomery, *Member*, and Miss Montgomery, who showed the portions of the house in which remains of St Mary's Abbey and the castle are incorporated. The Rev. E. Goff, M.A., *Member*, gave a detailed account at St Patrick's Church of the building and its monuments, after which the Castle was visited. Subsequently the Members were entertained to afternoon tea at Newtown Park by Mr W. J. Wilkinson.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—Income and Expenditure Account for Year ended 31 December, 1914

EXPENDITURE		£	s.	d.
Printing and Stationery	.	377	8	8
Postage and Incidentals	.	54	0	1
Rent	.	90	0	0
Repairs	.	2	14	6
Insurance	.	1	5	6
Salaries and Wages	.	109	1	6
Gas and Electric Light	.	9	7	9
Subscriptions to Societies, &c	.	3	6	8
Audit Fee (2 years)	.	6	6	0
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet	.	36	3	8
		<hr/>		
		£689	14	4

INCOME		£	s.	d.
Entrance Fees—				
Fellows	.	20	0	0
Member	.	0	10	0
		<hr/>		
Subscriptions—				
Fellows	.	151	0	0
Members	.	308	0	0
Associates	.	34	10	0
		<hr/>		
Life Compositions—				
Fellows	.	20	0	0
Member	.	5	0	0
		<hr/>		
Hire of Hall	.			
Sale of Publications	.			
Donation	.			
Interest on Consols	.			
		<hr/>		
(Note.—£13 of this was applied in the purchase of New Stock)				
Bank Interest	.	1	7	4
		<hr/>		
		£689	14	4

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—Balance Sheet, 31 December, 1914

LIABILITIES			ASSETS		
SUNDRY CREDITORS—			COLLECTION ON LOAN TO NATIONAL MUSEUM—		
£	s	d.	£	s	d.
Stationery and Printing	156	12 5	Estimated Value . . . . .	.	500 0 0
Rent	45	0 0	Estimated Value . . . . .	.	400 0 0
Subscriptions	0	13 0	INVESTMENTS, CONSOLS—		
Gas and Electric Light	5	6 10	Per last Account, £1,107 10 6 at	840	0 0
Repairs	0	9 2	Add new Purchases, 18 13 4 cost	13	0 0
Lantern	1	1 0	SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR—		853 0 0
Audit Fee (1914)	4	4 0	Fellows	17	0 0
		213 6 5	Members	61	0 0
			Associates	4	0 0
				£82	0 0
CAPITAL ACCOUNT—			Less sum reserved for doubtful items	10	0 0
Balance per last Account	1,597	18 4		£72	0 0
Surplus Income for 1914	36	3 8	DEDUCT—SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID IN ADVANCE—		
		1,634 2 0	Fellows	£6	0 0
			Members	17	10 0
			Associates	2	0 0
				25	10 0
			CASH AT PROVINCIAL BANK	46	10 0
				47	18 5
				£1,847	8 5

We have examined the Books of the Society, and have prepared therefrom the foregoing Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet. According to the best of our information the said Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society.

CRAIG, GARDNER & CO., Auditors.

DUBLIN, 20th April, 1915.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

The "Extra Volumes" for the following years are :—

- 1888-89**—"The Rude Stone Monuments of Co. Sligo and the Island of Achill," by Colonel Wood-Martin. (*Out of print.*)
- *1890-91**—"The Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346, with the Middle English Moral Play, *The Pride of Life*, from the original in the Christ Church Collection in the Public Record Office, Dublin," edited by James Mills, M.R.I.A.
- 1892**—"Inis Muiredach, now Inismurray, and its Antiquities," by W. F. Wakeman (cloth, royal 8vo, with Map and 84 Illustrations). (Price 7s. 6d.)
- *1893-95**—"The Annals of Clonmacnoise," from the mss. in the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.
- *1896-97**—"Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483," from the original ms. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by Henry F. Berry, M.A., T.C.D., Barrister-at-Law.
- *1898-1901**—"The Index to the first Nineteen Volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1849-1889, inclusive, complete in Three Parts. Parts I, II, and III now ready, price 3s. 6d. each. The whole forming vol. xx of the Consecutive Series of the *Journal* of the Society.
- 1902-1906**—"The Gormanston Register," edited by James Mills, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. (*Nearly ready.*)
- *1907-1908**—"Inscribed Slabs at Clonmacnois." By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.
- 1909**—"Old Irish Folk Music and Songs." By P. W. Joyce, LL.D. (Price 10s. 6d.)

* *These Volumes may be had from the Society's Publishers, price 10s. each.*

Just Issued.

Index to the *Journal*, Vols. XXI-XL (1891-1910). Compiled by the late General Stubbs, revised and edited by W. Cotter Stubbs, M.A., M.R.I.A. (Price 10s. 6d.); bound in cloth 12s. 6d.

The "Extra Volumes" previous to the year 1890 are out of print, except "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," edited by M. Stokes, of which several complete Volumes and Parts, with numerous Illustrations, may be had. Price £3 for the complete Volumes.

The Publications of the Society are to be obtained from the Publishers, Messrs. HODGES, FIGGIS & Co., Ltd., 104 Grafton Street, Dublin; also the List of Fellows and Members (price 6d.).

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THE Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

1915

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND

SERIES VI, VOL. V.

VOL. XLV



PART III

30 SEPTEMBER 1915

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DUBLIN

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., LTD., GRAFTON STREET

1915

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

(Formerly the Kilkenny Archæological Association, and the Royal Historical
and Archæological Association of Ireland)

*List of the Volumes, showing the relation between the Consecutive
Numbers and the Numbers of each of the Six Series ; also the Years for
which each Volume was issued.*

CONSECUTIVE NUMBER	NUMBER OF SERIES	YEARS
*I.	I.	1849, 1850, 1851.
II.	II.	1852, 1853.
*III.	III.	1854, 1855.
*IV.	I. 2nd Series,	1856, 1857.
V.	II.	1858, 1859.
*VI.	III.	1860, 1861.
VII.	IV.	1862, 1863.
VIII.	V.	1864, 1865, 1866.
IX.	VI.	1867.
X.	I. 3rd Series,	1868, 1869.
XI.	I. 4th Series,	1870, 1871.
XII.	II.	1872, 1873.
XIII.	III.	1874, 1875.
XIV.	IV.	1876, 1877, 1878.
XV.	V.	1879, 1880, 1881, 1882.
XVI.	VI.	1883, 1884.
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*XVIII.	VIII.	1887, 1888.
*XIX.	IX.	1889.
XX.	INDEX,	1849-1889.
*XXI.	I. 5th Series,	1890-1891.
XXII.	II.	1892.
XXIII.	III.	1893.
XXIV.	IV.	1894.
XXV.	V.	1895.
XXVI.	VI.	1896.
XXVII.	VII.	1897.
XXVIII.	VIII.	1898.
XXIX.	IX.	1899.
XXX.	X.	1900.
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XXXIII.	XIII.	1903.
XXXIV.	XIV.	1904.
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XXXVII.	XVII.	1907.
XXXVIII.	XVIII.	1908.
XXXIX.	XIX.	1909.
XL.	XX.	1910.
XLI.	I. 6th Series,	1911.
XLII.	II.	1912.
XLIII.	III.	1913.
XLIV.	IV.	1914.

The Volumes marked (*) are now out of print. Some of the remaining Volumes can be supplied to Members at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd Parts of some of the foregoing volumes can be supplied. The Quarterly Parts of the Fifth Series can be supplied to Members at 3s. each.

In order to assist Fellows and Members to obtain back numbers of the *Journal*, the Council have decided to offer the fifteen volumes from 1870-1884 at the greatly reduced price of £1 for the set.

In considering applications, preference will be given to Fellows and Members who joined the Society previous to 1908.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1915

VOL. XLV, PART III
(VOL. V, SIXTH SERIES—VOL. XLV, CONSEC. SERIES)

ENTRIES RELATING TO JOHN O'DONOVAN AND HIS
IMMEDIATE RELATIVES

FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE FORMERLY UNITED PARISHES OF
SLIEVERUE AND GLENMORE, IN THE CO. KILKENNY

By VERY REV. CANON CARRIGAN, D.D., P.P., DURROW

[Submitted 30 MARCH 1915]

THE Registers of Slieverue and Glenmore begin at the close of 1766. The Baptismal and Marriage Registers are continued without any interruption down to the present time. The Register of Deaths begins 4th Dec. 1766, and ends 28th Nov. 1799; it is all in the fine handwriting of the Very Rev. Dr. Stephen Lower, P.P., V.G. In these Records the Donovans get very frequent mention, the townlands with which they are mostly identified being Athatamore or Attitimore, Ballyfacy, otherwise Old Ballyfacy, Ballyvérara, Weatherstown, Ballinlaw, Ballynicole, otherwise Nicholastown, Carriganurra and Drumdowney; the Haberlins, too, John O'Donovan's paternal as well as maternal relatives, are frequently met with, especially in the townlands of Ballinlaw, Coolnaleen and Rochestown. From the scores of Donovan and Haberlin entries the following are selected:—

REGISTER OF BAPTISMS

1767, Sept. 26. Baptized [at Rochestown]: Ellenor Haberlin,¹ daughter to Marks Haberlin & Catherine Fling, of lawfull matrimony.

¹ O'Donovan's mother.

Gossips : Jams. O'Kelly & Ellenor Coady. Witness : Mr. William Inot & Bridget Fitzgerald.

1769, Sept. 16. Baptized att Athatimore : Cornelius Donevan,¹ son to Edmd. Donevan & Mary Cody, of lawfull wedlock. Gossips : Thoms. Gale & Margeret Phelan.

1770, Dec. 17. Baptized att Roachestown : Richard Haberlin, son to Marks Haberlin & Catherine Fling, of lawfull wedlock. Gossips : Laurence & Ellenor Forestall.

1789, Sept. 25. Bapd. : Michl. Donnovan, of Athatimore, son of Edwd. Donnovan & Ellenor Haberlin. Sponsors : John & Mary Donnovan.

1792, Feb. 5. Bapd. : Patrick Donnovan, of Athatimore, son of Edwd. Donnovan & Ellenor Haberlin. Sponsors : Willm. Donnovan & Ellener Byrn.

1795, Jany. 31. Bapd. : Bridgit Donnovan, of Aught-a-temore,² daughter of Edwd. Donnovan, junr., & Ellenor Haberlin. Sponsors : Jams. Lanin & Mary Donnovan.

1797, June 7. Bapd. : Mary Donnovan, of Auth-a-temore, daughter of Edmd. Donnovan & Ellenor Haberlin. Sponsors : Matthew Bowlan & Margaret Murphy.

1801, Bapd., January 17th, Catherine, par. : Edmond Donnevan, ot Attimore, & Ellinor Haberlin. Sps. : Edmond & Mary Lannan.
JNO. FITZPATRICK [C.C.]

1802, April 24. B. at Autatimore, William Donevan ; P. : Edmond [Donevan] & Ellenor Habirleen. S. : Darby Donevan & Ellen Donevan.

1806, JULY. ATTATIMORE, 26TH. BAP. JNO., PAR. : EDMOND DONNEVAN & ELLINOR HABBERLAN. SPS. : EDMOND WALL & ELLENOR NEAL.
J. FITZK., P.P.

1810, Feb., Nicholastown, 10th. Bapd. : Patrick ; pts. : Edmd. Donovan & Elenor Habberlin. Sps. : Mich. Lannin & Brid. Donovan.
P. CARRIGAN [C.C.]

1813, Authe-thimore, June 6. Bapd. : Margaret ; pts. : Edwd. Donovan & Elenor Haberlin. Sps. : L. Lannin & Mary Donovan.
P. CARIGAN [C.C.]

REGISTER OF MARRIAGES.

1778, Feb. 19. Joyn'd in wedlock : by ye certificate of Mr. Tobias Budd : Willm. Donnevan, of Athatimore, unto Margarette Haberlin, of Roachestown, per dispensationem in 3tio & 4to. con-

¹ O'Donovan's uncle. He died 7th March 1783.

² In Irish, and sometimes in English, too, Attimore is called *Ottia-tee-voozh*, i.e., *aít a' tigh mhóir*, the site of the big house.

sanguinitatis gr[adu]. Witness : Patrick Donnevan, John Haberlin & Patrick Lannan.

1788, Oct. 6. Joyn'd in wedlock : Ellenor Haberlin, of Roachestown, unto Edmd. Donnovan, of Athatemoire. Witness : Willm. Donnovan & Thos. Haberlin.

REGISTER OF DEATHS.

1775, Dec. 7.	Died at Roachestown : Honour Haberlin.
1783, March 7.	„ Athatemoire : Cornelius Donnovan. ¹
1786, May 8.	„ Balleverere : Edmund Donnovan.
1787, May 2.	„ „ : Bridget Donnovan.
1789, April 14.	„ Roachestown : Mary Haberlin <i>alias</i> Forestall.
„ Nov. 22.	„ Gallstown : Rose Donnovan, aged 102 years.
1792, Jany. 22.	„ Roachestown : Richard Haberlin.
„ April 8.	„ Balleverere : Cornelius Donnovan. ²
„ May 6.	„ Rathpatrick : Rose Donnovan.
1794, Sept. 30.	„ Athatemoire : John Donnovan.
„ Nov. 2.	„ Balleverere : Honr. Donnovan.
1795, March 21.	„ Drumdowney : Catharine Donnovan.
„ May 15.	„ Roachestown : John Donnovan. ³
„ Dec. 16.	„ Weatherstown : Catharine Donnovan.
1796, April 16.	„ Athatemoire : William Donnovan. ¹
1797, June 14.	„ „ : Mary Cody <i>alias</i> Donnovan. ⁴
1798, Jany. 31.	„ Weatherstown : William Donnovan.
„ Dec. 27.	„ Authatemoire : Edmund Donnovan. ⁵

¹ O'Donovan's uncle.

² Probably O'Donovan's granduncle. O'Donovan states that his granduncle Cornelius settled down in Ballyfacy. Now Balleverere or Ballyverara and Ballyfacy are adjoining townlands. In Irish and English Ballyverara is always pronounced *Bollia-waé-rázhá*.

³ Apparently O'Donovan's granduncle.

⁴ O'Donovan's grandmother, whose maiden name was Mary Archdeacon otherwise Cody.

⁵ O'Donovan's grandfather, who was born in 1720. He was son of William Donovan, of Drumdowney, and Mary Haberlin, his wife ; grandson of Conchobhar or Cornelius Donovan, of Ballymountain, and Rose Kavanagh, of Ballyleigh, his wife ; and great-grandson of Edmond O'Donovan (slain at Ballinvegga, 18th March 1643), and Catherine Gaul, otherwise Gaul-Burke, of Gaulstown, his wife.

MISCELLANEA

A Long Earthwork at Kilwarden in Co. Meath.—On the western border of Co. Meath in Upper Moyfenrath, between Kinnegad and the Hill of Down railway station, is a notable double earthwork on which it is very desirable that information should be obtained. It does not appear to extend into Westmeath, ending at the boundary stream between the counties; but runs through the townlands of Hardwood and Kilwarden. It first runs nearly eastward, the two mounds being fairly complete for 200 feet. About 100 feet farther it turns more to the north-west for about 600 feet, in fair preservation, beyond which the wet fosse runs nearly straight for about 1,050 feet, the mounds being gone. We find them again—the back one only—for 360 feet, and a double reach for 650 feet at about 3,700 feet from the boundary stream. There is then a break for about 500 feet, a reach about 100 feet, a gap for 450 feet, and a reach about 1,200 feet long at Kilwarden River. Beyond this, on the north-east side it begins for about 300 feet (only about half that length of the north-west mound remaining), then there is a gap for 300 feet, the mound still running north-west from the border of that townland, and a reach for 700 feet more (600 feet of the north-west mound). The ditch is then traceable for at least 800 feet to about 4,000 feet south of the railway. The whole works are about a mile and a half long. No further reach is marked on the new maps. These long earthworks are very curious, being frequently attributed to the Black Pig, and one, the Worm Ditch, to a great serpent. The fenced roads in Munster are said to be the work of St. Patrick's Cow, the Rian Bo from Ardmore to Ardfinnan (as studied by Rev. Patrick Power), and "The Slug of St. Patrick's Cow" (as John Windele notes) at Ardpatrick, Co. Limerick. The Cladh Ruadh and the Cladh Dubh run from Kerry Head to near Abbey Feale, and are probably tracks. A more formidable mound is on the borders of Counties Limerick and Cork to the north-west of Charleville. The great series of works fencing the line of Ulidia is described by Mr. W. de Vismes Kane, who describes another work near Dromsna. It were to be wished that this last-named writer would complete all the Leinster and Ulster works of this character. Beside the above-papers we have an admirable survey of the Dane's Cast by Rev. Canon H. Lett, who has also described for the first time the great



THE MULLAGH, OR DAISY HILL, DRUMCEAT

enclosure of the Dorsey Fort. I have described the short reaches of straight earthworks in Co. Clare in my survey of the prehistoric remains at Ardnagowell, Glenquin, Killeen and Feeagh—the three latter accounts are not yet published. The whole subject is very obscure, and probably it may prove impossible to bring under one head the several varieties of these works in Ireland.¹—T. J. WESTROPP.

Druimceat.—The mound, identified by Bishop Reeves with the scene of the Synod of Druimceat, stands on the ridge behind Roe Park, in the townland of Mullach, to which it evidently gives the name. It is carved out of a natural hillock, being regularly shaped in a fine curve to the south and west. To the east side it is either unfinished, or has been defaced. It is 22 to 25 feet high on the west face, rising in a slope of 3 to 5. Along the north and north-east the natural hill has been cut back in a curved terrace, on which may be seen faint traces, apparently of house sites. The platform has evidently been levelled up; it is roughly oval, 120 feet east and west, and 78 feet north and south.

A large circular pond to the south may have been dug to supply material for the shaping of the mound, which has no fosse whence the earth could have been taken; but possibly the shaping of the hillock yielded a sufficient supply for the platform. There is a noble view along the hills to the great terrace cliffs of Binveenagh, and to the estuary of the Foyle.

To the west, a fine "mote" or "Dane's Fort" (called "Rough Fort" on the early maps) lies beside the road from Limavady to Londonderry. It is a rath of the normal type; its interior not raised, and with two well preserved, flat topped earthen rings with a broad shallow fosse. The entrance gap is towards the east.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Bronze Pin from Crossdrum Quarry Souterrain.—Some years ago a souterrain was found at Crossdrum Quarry near Oldcastle, Co. Meath, an account of which will be found in the *Journal* for 1897.²

About twelve months ago, a man named M'Cabe found a bronze

¹ The Black Pig's Dyke, W. F. De Vismes Kane (*New Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iii, pp. 23–67. Drumsna (in Press for *Proc. R. I. A.*, 1915). Rian Bo Co. Waterford, Rev. Patrick Power, *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xxxv, p. 111. The Cladh Ruadh and Kerry and Limerick, T. J. Westropp, *ibid.*, vol. xl, p. 128. Ardnagowell, Co. Clare, vol. xliii, p. 258. Killeen, Glenquin (now in Press for same). The Danes' Cast, Cladh, Worms Ditch, &c., *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, Sections 149–158.

² 5th Series, vol. vii, p. 427.

pin, of which I enclose an illustration, at the same place. In his own words : " I found it at the end of the cave where a fox rooted out some clay and sand."



Pins of this type seem to belong to the 9th or 10th centuries.

A very similar one is illustrated in the catalogue of antiquities in the Edinburgh museum, from Heisker, Hebrides.

The pin here illustrated measures $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length.—E. CROFTON ROTHERAM.

Conna Castle.—The recent bequest of an Irish Castle by its English owner to the Local Government Board of Ireland is a unique occurrence meriting, I think, some record in this *Journal*. Having many years ago become the landlord of the Conna district in North-east Cork, the late Rev. Alfred G. K. L'Estrange, an English clergyman, residing in London, repaired Conna Castle, enclosed and laid out the grounds surrounding it, and appointed a trustworthy caretaker of the castle, to which he allowed the public access on payment of a nominal sum for admission. The Rev. Mr. L'Estrange also wrote a "History of Conna Castle," which he had printed for private circulation only. He sold his property here some time ago under the Land Purchase Act, and now he has crowned his good work by wisely leaving this castle not to a heedless and irresponsible local body, but to the Local Government Board for Ireland.

Conna or Connor Castle stands on a rock overhanging the Bride, an estuary of the River Blackwater, about six miles to the west of Tallow, Co. Waterford. It is said to have been erected by one of the Earls of Desmond, the builders of the numerous castles by the Blackwater in the vicinity of Conna, such as Mocollop, Mogeely, Dromana, Strancally, and Templemichael Castle near Youghal. It appears to be of 14th or 15th century construction. It formed the residence of Sir Thomas FitzGerald, the eldest son of the 14th Earl of Desmond. This Earl having put away his first wife, the mother of Sir Thomas, he passed over the latter, in favour of his second son, Gerald, who became the 15th Earl of Desmond. When this Gerald broke out in rebellion, Sir Thomas took no part in his proceedings, but retired to his Castle at Conna, where he died on the 18th of January, 1595. He was the father of the famous Sugan Earl of Desmond, who, having been betrayed by his kinsman the White

Knight, was sent a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he died insane.

Conna Castle was captured by Lord Castlehaven in 1645. In his *Cromwell in Ireland* (1883), the late Rev. D. Murphy tells us that in 1650 Cromwell passed by Conna, and on Gallows Hill to the west of the Castle he is said to have halted with his army and held council about executing the garrison. From this point he battered the Castle with his guns, but apparently with little effect.

In 1653, as related in *Lewis's Dictionary*, Conna Castle was burnt, and three young ladies named German perished in the flames. Notwithstanding these vicissitudes and the subsequent long lapse of time, Conna Castle is still in good condition, and forms in a way a worthy memorial of the archaeological zeal of its lately deceased owner, the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange, to whom Irish antiquaries will feel still further indebted for the effective means that he has adopted for ensuring its future preservation.—JAMES COLEMAN.

An Apple Scoop found in a Grave at Glasnevin.—A small scoop broken at the end, made from the metatarsal bone of a young sheep, was recently presented to the collection of the Royal Irish Academy by Principal McClelland, LL.B., of the Training College, Marlborough Hall, Glasnevin, through Professor A. F. Dixon. The scoop is figured natural size (Fig. 1), and was found in exposing a grave, formed of rough flags laid together, containing a skeleton,

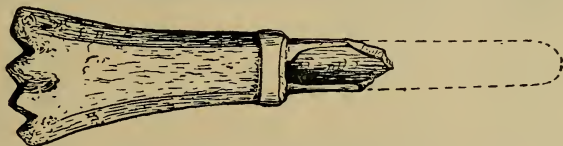


FIG. 1. SCOOP FOUND AT GLASNEVIN. (i)

which was discovered in the grounds of the Training College, Marlborough Hall. No other antiquities were found in the grave, which was one of several similar disinterred in the same spot. Unfortunately none contained any objects which could assist in dating the interments, but from the form of their rough stone linings it is probable they may be provisionally assigned to some period approaching the 10th century, A.D.

The remaining portion of the hollowed end of the scoop was filled with a bright red substance which came out as a solid core. This was analysed by Professor Werner of Trinity College, Dublin, and found to contain—(1) sulphate of calcium (*i.e.*, practically, plaster of Paris), (2) Fe_2O_3 (*i.e.*, Venetian-red, probably obtained

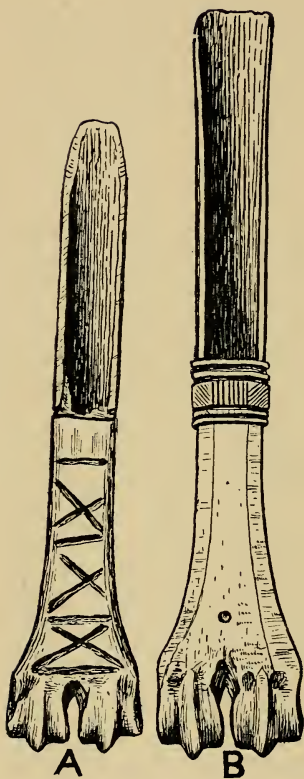


FIG. 2. A. AND B. (1)



FIG. 3. A. AND B. (1)

by heating iron pyrites), and (3) glue or resin, probably animal glue; the last formed the greater part of the mass.

There are several similar scoops in the Academy's collection. One (Fig. 2A) was found in a crannog, either that of Ballinderry or Strokestown. Mr. W. F. Wakeman in his printed catalogue of museum labels, described it as "shaped like a marrow-spoon, or small dagger." Another (Fig. 2B) was found in street excavations in Dublin. Both of these are made from the bones of sheep, and are here illustrated natural size. In the collection are also various bones cut in a similar manner to the scoops, which may be regarded as earlier forms of implements of like use. Two of these are illustrated natural size (Fig. 3). One (Fig. 3A) is described by Wakeman as "A very elegant dagger, javelin, small spear or dart point." It is stated to have been found at Garristown, but Wakeman says it came from Lagore Crannog. The other (Fig. 3B), Wakeman considers may have been the head of a small spear, javelin, or dagger. A number of such scoops were excavated by the late Mr. R. J. Ussher in the kitchen-middens of raths in Co. Waterford, and are figured in our *Journal*, vol. xvii, Plate facing p. 363.

Scoops like those illustrated (Fig. 2) are fairly common objects in museums and private collections. One is figured *British Museum Mediaeval Guide*, p. 29, and dated examples of cherrywood (1682), and of boxwood (1656), are described in the *Journal, British Archaeological Association*, vol. 18, p. 274, and in the *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. xiv, p. 216; while a number of bone examples preserved in the Municipal Buildings at Cardiff are illustrated in the *Connoisseur*, vol. xxxvi (May to August, 1913), p. 81, where it is stated (p. 85) that apple-scoops were in common use up to half a century ago, especially in the apple-growing districts of the West of England.

The employment of these implements, therefore, extends over several centuries, and less elaborate forms may have been in use many years earlier than the dated scoops mentioned above. The rougher examples illustrated (Fig. 3) may have belonged to a considerably earlier period, and possibly were used for extracting marrow from bones.

It seems unlikely that the scoop which forms the subject of this note was part of the original furniture of the grave in which it was found; it appears more probable that its presence is due to accidental circumstances. The graves were all close to the present surface of the ground, and such an object could easily have worked its way down through the soil. Apparently it had been used in connection with the application of some kind of paint.—E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Vice-President.

ERRATUM.—In vol. xlv, p. 188, bottom of page, for J. R. H. and A. A. I., vol. ii, 5th ser., read J. R. H. and A. A. I., ser. v, vol. vii (vol. xvii consecutive series), p. 362.

Mr. F. J. Bigger kindly forwards the following cutting from the *Belfast News-Letter*, 9th August 1915¹ :—

SOUTERRAIN DISCOVERED NEAR STRANGFORD.

An interesting discovery was made a few days ago by Mr. Patrick Hinds on his farm at Toberdoney, near Strangford, on the estate of Viscount Bangor. According to tradition, a cave existed in the Craighan field, but the exact location was not known to the Hinds family, who have been in possession of the farm for over a century. Mr. P. Hinds, who held a strong belief as to the existence of the cave, caused careful search to be made, and after prolonged testing at varying depths, ultimately struck a monolithic slab covering one of the chambers of a souterrain. The passage is at the east end, and there is a small chamber about ten feet from the entrance on the north side, within 40 feet of the Castleward Road. For 45 feet it is almost straight, and the projecting stones, about 6 feet apart, indicate the position of two traps. It deflects to the south, and there are two other lateral chambers, one on the north side, ventilated, and one on the south. The passage crosses the road at an obtuse angle, and terminates in an oblong chamber with a floor space of 55 feet. Most of this is hewn out of the solid rock, and shows the remains of two rude ventilating shafts. The walls narrow to the top, which is covered with long broad flags, closely jointed and overlapped. Some deposits of bones, teeth, and horns were discovered in one of the chambers. These evidently belonged to a large ruminant, probably a deer. Pieces of burnt oak, a considerable quantity of charcoal, and a few pieces of flint were also found. The length from the entrance to the main chamber is roughly 45 yards.

¹ Members of the Society are invited to send to the office, 6 St Stephen's Green, cuttings from local papers such as this, reporting new discoveries : those containing theories are usually of less value.

ADDRESS TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

On WEDNESDAY, 30TH JUNE, 1915, the following address was presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the President, the Hon. General Secretary, and the Hon. Treasurer in the Council Chamber, Dublin Castle :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

IVOR CHURCHILL, LORD WIMBORNE,

Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, desire to offer you in the name of the Society our congratulations on your arrival among us as our Chief Governor and the Representative of our august Patron, His Majesty the King.

Our Society, founded at Kilkenny in 1849 to preserve, examine and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, language, arts, manners and customs of our country, attracted members from all parts of Ireland and grew to be the most numerous of all the bodies devoted to the study of archaeology in the United Kingdom. It received from Queen Victoria in 1869 the honour of being designated a Royal Association, and in 1890 it was authorised to adopt the title which it now bears. His present Majesty was graciously pleased to grant it a Charter of Incorporation in 1912.

During the sixty-five years of its existence the Society has laboured assiduously in the wide field of Irish archaeology. Its energies are evidenced chiefly in periodical meetings for discussion, in field visits to the ancient monuments of each province in turn, in publications and in subsidiary researches. Its publications already include sixty volumes and many lesser issues for occasional purposes. Among its eminent workers, to name some only of those who have passed away, were Graves, O'Donovan, Prendergast, Reeves and Wilde, names honoured beyond our shores and remembered in Ireland with respect and affection. They and many other earnest and unselfish colleagues have enabled the Society to carry on with credit an undertaking of national importance, and their joint labours went far to prepare the ground for a sane and vigorous school of Irish archaeology.

In one main respect the position of Ireland in archaeology differs from that of Great Britain and other countries. The strong hand of Caesar was never laid upon her ; her native arts and institutions were not swept aside by legionary and prefect, nor forced into the imperial mould ; no external violence disturbed their gradual mutations throughout many remote centuries. Consequently, the memorials of prehistoric man are more abundant here than in any equal area in Europe. A similar statement may be made regarding our early Christian antiquities, and mediaeval remains have survived in great numbers. It is most desirable, therefore, to obtain for Ireland a comprehensive and scientific record of ancient monuments such as is being prepared by the Royal Commissions for England, Scotland and Wales ; but this it is recognised is a matter which must be postponed until a more auspicious time.

Meanwhile we hope that under your Excellency's wise and sympathetic administration the interests of our ancient monuments will receive all the protection which the Executive Government can afford in a benevolent exercise of its ordinary powers.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

G. N. COUNT PLUNKETT,

[L.S.]

President.

CHARLES M'NEILL,

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

His Excellency was pleased to reply as follows :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been deeply interested in the sentences, compact of thought and knowledge, in which you have set before me the wide extent of your Society's activities, and I welcome this occasion for expressing admiration at your successful efforts to throw back into a remoter past the frontiers of Irish history, and to occupy in its name the territories of tradition.

You have truly a splendid field of labour, for in this land it would seem as if legend lost none of its poetry by translation back into the life from which it sprung.

I look forward to acquiring some knowledge of these material evidences of the long period of growth and of the centuries of high Celtic civilisation which cover the land, and to seeing those far-famed monuments which, ranging from the rude crannogs of the lakes and the great stone fortresses of the Western Isles to graceful round towers and sculptured high crosses, are among the art products of a splendid national isolation. The Tower, the Cross, and

the Chapel must surely more than make up for the want of the Arch, the Column, and the Circus, and I can understand the pride of Irishmen in a native art, owing nothing to Greece or Italy, which produced those elaborate wrought croziers and shrines, those jewel-encrusted book covers, and those exquisitely illuminated manuscripts which, as you make them better known, will increasingly inspire wonder and admiration.

With its long list of over 1,100 members, including some who approach in reputation the learned workers of the past referred to in the Address, with its energies exerted in the various directions you have indicated, with its growing volume of recorded results inspiring to fresh efforts, and with a field of work which must extend as it is explored, the Royal Society of Antiquaries should have a future as distinguished as its past.

I sincerely wish it such a future, and I shall be glad if I can assist the Society in the ways you have pointed out to me, and so pay the debt of gratitude I owe for an Address so thoughtful and so kind.

PROCEEDINGS

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held at THE GUILDHALL, LONDONDERRY, by kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation of Londonderry, on TUESDAY, the 6TH JULY, 1915, at 8 o'clock p.m.

The Mayor of Londonderry, Alderman R. N. Anderson, J.P., opening the proceedings, welcomed the Society to the city, and referred to the many claims which its long and eventful history gave it to the attention of antiquarians. The President, in reply, expressed the Society's indebtedness to the Mayor for his welcome and his address. The President then took the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates, recommended by the Council, were elected :—

AS FELLOW.

Millar, De Courcy, Turvey House, Donabate : proposed by Richard Lane Joynt, M.D., *Fellow*.

AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Falconer, R. A., 23 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin : proposed by Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Halpenny, Michael, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., J.P., Tirkeenan, Monaghan : proposed by D. Carolan Rushe, *Fellow*.

Lowry-Corry, Lady Dorothy : proposed by J. Ribton Garstin, D.L., *Past President*.

On the motion of Michael Buggy, *Member*, seconded by Henry Courtenay, I.S.O., *Fellow*, it was resolved :

“That the Council be empowered to take such steps as may be advised in connexion with the conversion of the Consolidated Stock held by the Society ; and that the Seal of the Society be affixed to any documents necessary for that purpose.”

The following papers were read and referred to the Council for publication :—

“The Normans in Tirowen and Tirconnell.” By Goddard H Orpen, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

“Hugh O'Neill's Co. Cork Incursion, 1599.” By James Coleman, *Fellow*.

The following was taken as read and also referred to the Council for publication :—

‘Rath Brenainn.’ By Hubert T. Knox, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Meeting then adjourned until Tuesday, 28th September, 1915.

The following Fellows, Members, and Visitors attended the Meeting :—

Vice-Presidents :—E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Fellows :—James Coleman, Henry Courtenay, I.S.O., J.P., Edwin Fayle, Arthur Fitzmaurice, J.P., Lucas White King, C.S.I., LL.D., Charles M’Neill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*, Seaton F. Milligan, J.P., Andrew Roycroft, D. Carolan Rushe.

Members :—Mrs. Allen, Miss Anna Barton, E. M. F.-G. Boyle, Michael Buggy, W. F. Butler, M.A., Miss Carolan, Miss I. Daniel, John J. FitzGerald, M.D., Francis Guilbride, J.P., Rev. W. A. Hayes, M.A., W. F. de Vismes Kane, D.L., Thomas Keaveney, D.I. R.I.C., Rev. Canon Kernan, B.D., The Hon. Michael Law, LL.D., Rev. Canon H. W. Lett, M.A., Rev. Canon H. C. Lyster, B.D., John P. M’Knight, Rev. D. Mullan, M.A., John Nelis, James Nichols, R. D. Ormsby, Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., Rev. T. W. O’Ryan, Miss D. C. Parkinson, Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A., Miss M. T. E. Powell, Rev. Patrick Power, Mrs. E. F. Simpson, Samuel Scott, Rev. F. J. Wall, Miss E. G. Warren, Miss H. Warren, Joseph Whitton, B.E., W. J. Wilkinson.

Associate Members :—R. A. Falconer, Michael Halpenny, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Miss Law, Mrs. M’Grane, Miss E. M. Nichols, Miss M. E. Nichols, Miss S. H. O’Grady, Michael S. Walsh, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I.

Visitors :—J. C. Ball, Mrs. J. C. Ball, Miss E. Barton, R. G. Daniel, Miss M. Glennon, Mrs. F. W. Hayes, Miss C. F. Jennings, Miss Johnston, Mrs. Keaveney, Miss Digges La Touche, Rev. R. T. Lyons, Mrs. J. P. M’Knight, Mrs. Sharp, Mrs. Vaughan.

The programme arranged by the Council was successfully carried out as subjoined :—

Tuesday, 6th July.—The *chars-à-banc* started from the Guild-hall, Derry, at 9 a.m. for Fahan, Buncrana, Carndonagh, Culdaff and Moville, visiting the ecclesiastical and other antiquities at these places, and the de Burgo Castle ruins at Greencastle. Luncheon was served at Carndonagh; afternoon tea at Greencastle.

In the evening the General Meeting of the Society was held in the Guildhall.

Wednesday, 7th July.—In the morning the members started from the Guildhall, Derry, at 9 a.m. in motor chars-à-banc for the Grianan of Aileach, the megalithic and other remains at Iskaheen, the burial-place of Eoghan son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, from whom Inishowen and Tyrone are named.

In the afternoon visits were made on foot to the walls and places of interest within the walls, the Cathedral, site of Augustinian Monastery, &c., and, outside the walls, the Long Tower Church and cemetery (site of ancient Cathedral), St Columb's stone, well, &c.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Derry received the members at the Cathedral, and gave an interesting account of the building. The members were afterwards kindly entertained to tea by the Dean and Mrs. Hayes at the deanery.

Thursday, 8th July.—The party left Derry by rail at 8.35 a.m. for Fahan, and crossed by ferry to Rathmullan (Carmelite monastery and castle of Bishop Knox); by motor chars-à-banc to Milford and Mulroy Bay, Carrigart, Doe Castle, the chief castle of Mac Swiney of Tuatha; Kilmacrenan Franciscan Friary, Letterkenny. Luncheon was served at Carrigart; afternoon tea at Letterkenny.

Friday, 9th July.—The chars-à-banc started from the Guildhall, Derry, at 9 a.m. for Dungiven and Maghera, returning by Limavady. The chief objects of interest on this route were a plantation bawn at Cumber, the early church, &c., at Banagher, Dungiven Priory, St Lurach's Church at Maghera, and ecclesiastical remains at Bovevagh. Luncheon was served at Maghera, and Mrs. Ritter kindly entertained the party to afternoon tea at Roe Park.



CARNDONAGH—ERECT CROSS-SLAB IN GRAVEYARD

TUESDAY 6th JULY 1915.

THE CROSSES AND SLABS OF INISHOWEN

By H. S. CRAWFORD, B.E., M.R.I.A., *Member*

THE Inishowen peninsula contains a series of early monuments which includes most types of crosses and slabs with the exception of the highest class of sculptured and ringed cross ; for the latter one must travel as far from the district as Arboe on the shore of Lough Neagh.

At the churchyard of Carndonagh may be seen a good example of erect slab, as well as two rudely carved pillar stones and a decorated cross intermediate between the plain and ringed form ; it is without a fully developed ring, but has the angles between the limbs boldly rounded.

At Fahan is another erect slab not only carved with interlacing, but provided with short projecting arms which place it in a position between the cross-slabs and free-standing crosses. At Carrowmore are two plain crosses of the Latin type, and a rock surface on which are a bullaun and a small cross.

At Cooley is a similar cross provided with a ring, and at Clonca church the shaft of a tall and slender cross highly carved, as well as the head of another ; and two slabs with inscriptions and carving of considerable interest. On the sea shore at Stroove near Moville is a cross inscribed pillar stone and a holy well.

The cross of St Mura at Fahan is usually the first seen by visitors to Inishowen ; it is 7 feet in height, and shaped like an ordinary gravestone with pointed top. It has also the uncommon feature of arms projecting a short distance from the sides of the stone ; a small slab with similarly projecting arms lies in the graveyard at Killegar, near the Scalp in County Wicklow. On each side of the Fahan monument is an interlaced cross in low relief ; these are probably the finest designs of their kind in the country. The cross on the east side is the more artistic and effective, though less elaborate than that on the west. The latter has a figure in a long robe at either side ; the inscriptions cut on these robes are a feature not found elsewhere ; they do not seem to have been



FAHAN—ST. MURA'S CROSS—EAST SIDE
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)



FAHAN—ST. MURA'S CROSS—WEST SIDE
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

noticed or deciphered, and it would be of interest to determine whether they are of the same date or later than the other cutting.¹ The base of this interlaced cross is covered by the earth ; it extends horizontally under the figures, and consists of a twist like that on a



CARDONAGH—CROSS—EAST FACE
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

slab at Kilberrihert, County Tipperary, already illustrated in the *Journal*.²

The interlaced designs on this cross, as well as that on the west face of Carndonagh cross, are remarkable in having two lines incised on the bands, no others on Irish monuments have more than one. They differ from the threefold bands on Italian and other foreign interlaced work in having the central division of the band wider than the others, which thus form borders to it. Mr Coffey has drawn attention to this.³ There is also at Fahan a rectangular slab on

¹ A modern inscription has been cut on the edge of the stone.

² Vol. xxxix, p. 61, fig. 4. ³ *Guide to Celtic Christian Antiquities*, p. 14.

which is carved a ringed cross in high relief ; it is built into the road wall near the entrance to the graveyard.

The cross at Carndonagh is placed on the road fence near the church, and as the bank covers the lower portion, it is uncertain if the cross stands in its original socket ; it is almost 7 feet in height, 3 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 7 to 8 inches thick. The west side is entirely covered by an interlaced pattern of the class mentioned in



CARROWMORE—EAST CROSS

(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

connexion with the Fahan cross ; and the edges of the stone bear, on the south side three rude figures, one above another, and on the north traces of an interlaced pattern. The east is the principal face, and is occupied by a fine cross of two broad bands, having triquetra-shaped ends ; the cross suggests the Greek form, though the lower limb is slightly elongated. The angles of the stone above the arms of the interlaced cross are filled by separate triquetras, one of which has an extra twist ; and the corresponding lower angles with

zoomorphic triskelia, which take the form of birds radiating from centres. This kind of triskelion is rare ; the present examples may be compared with the three dolphins or sea-horses on one of the plaques of the *Cross of the Scriptures* at Clonmacnois ; in that instance, however, the tails of the animals are in the centre. Below the cross is a puzzling design, the central figure of which has extended arms and a smaller figure at each side low down, and so far resembles



CARROWMORE—WEST CROSS

(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

those representations of the crucifixion in which the cross is omitted ; but there are also at either side of the head small figures which appear to have human bodies and the heads of birds or rats, and these suggest the frequently repeated design in which a human figure or head is attacked by an animal on either side. Near the cross are two pillar stones, on one of which are three human heads, and on the other a single head as well as remains of spiral patterns.

The erect cross-slab is in the adjoining graveyard ; it is 5 feet in

height, 17 inches in width, and 7 inches in thickness (*see frontispiece*). On the east side is a crucifixion, the head of the figure projecting slightly above the general upper surface of the stone ; at either side is a small figure with a cross marked on the clothes. Below is an interlaced cross of simple design, standing on a base of fretwork or key pattern. On the west side is carved a circle supported on a long stem or shaft. The latter is ornamented with key pattern, and the circle

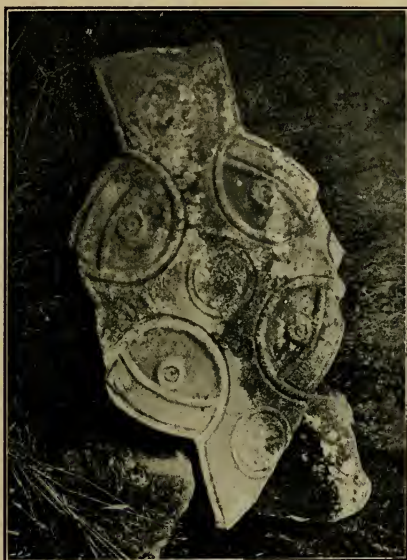


CLONCA—SHAFT OF CROSS

(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

contains a star-shaped design with seven rays ; evidently a modification of the ordinary six-limbed star or cross formed of circular arcs. At each side of the stem is a rude figure bearing a staff or crozier, and below is an incircled star or cross of four rays on a fretwork base. The band forming this figure is much worn, but retains a rough surface which looks like a plait ; if this be so it indicates an unusual combination of designs. There are also several interesting monuments of later date in the churchyard.

Carrowmore or Baskill is about 4 miles east of Carndonagh ; the buildings there have disappeared, the only surviving monuments being two crosses and an incised rock. The east cross is 10 feet high, of the Latin shape, and retains some traces of an incised figure on the upper portion of the west side. The west cross is 11 feet high, of similar shape, but more nearly square in section, and having



CLONCA—HEAD OF CROSS

(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

shorter arms. Near the crosses is a partially uncovered rock surface in which is a bullaun, and a cross about 1 foot in length, the edges of this cross are left in relief and the centre is sunk.

A short distance north of Carrowmore on the road to Culdaff is the church of Clonca, in the field west of which is the shaft of a carved cross 12 feet in height, dedicated to St Buodan. The east side is covered with lichen to such an extent as almost to conceal the designs. At the top there are apparently two seated figures holding up a round object—possibly St Paul and St Anthony,

the founders of monasticism, dividing the bread brought them by a raven, an incident shown on various other monuments ; below are a panel of plait-work, a panel of diagonal fret, and a large spiral or trumpet pattern. The west side is clearer, and shows at the top a panel filled by a plait formed of double bands ; below are two animals crouching, they appear to have human heads, and tails coiled over their backs. Next to them are two human figures side by side, and below the latter is a long panel of interlaced bands crossing diagonally through circles. Near this shaft there lies on a heap of stones a large cross-head which has sometimes been described as belonging to it, but which seems to be decorated in a different style. This head has a solid recessed ring, 3 feet 8 inches in diameter, and is decorated with plain mouldings and flat bosses or roundels containing interlaced patterns. In a hole in the west wall of the church is placed loose a stone with an Irish inscription and objects resembling a mallet and chisel ; this stone was for a long time missing.¹ The inscription has not hitherto been read. The church also contains a slab of later date, 6 feet in length and 1 foot 8 inches in breadth, tapering to 1 foot 3 inches. On this slab is a floriated cross, flanked on the dexter side by a fanciful spray of foliage and on the sinister by a sword, hurley-stick, and ball. At the head is inscribed in Lombardic characters on the dexter and sinister sides respectively

MAGNVSMA	FERGVSMAK
CORRISTIN	ALLANDORI
IAEOTKISEO	NNI
	CLAGHSA

The final words of the latter part of the inscription are continued on the hilt of the sword. The first part gives doubtless, the name of the person whose grave the stone covered, Magnus Mac Orristin, and the latter states that Fergus Mak Allan made this stone, thus preserving the artist's name. The inscription is in Scottish Gaelic.

At Cooley near Moville the remains consist of a stone-roofed tomb in the graveyard and a cross near the entrance gate ; there are also several monumental stones of late date. The cross is 10 feet in height ; it is without carving, but has a pierced ring and a hole 4 inches in diameter through the top and rather to one side. This hole is a curious feature, and may be a survival from the earlier *hole-stones*. The crosses at Bonamargy Friary, Layd near Cushendall, as well as one found in fragments at Moone Abbey, County

¹ Illustrated in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 4 (new series), p. 19

Kildare, are perforated, but in all these cases the hole passes through the centre. The pillar stone at Castledermot, County Kildare, may be a transitional form ; it has a cross incised on one side and a hole through the centre of the cross. The High cross of Drumcliff also is perforated, but the hole being small easily escapes notice, and may have been purposely made inconspicuous. It passes behind the



MOVILLE—CROSS AT COOLEY
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

moulding of one angle of the shaft near the head, and corresponds with that class of hole-stone in which the aperture is made diagonally through an angle.

The base of Cooley cross is also curious ; a large flat stone with a perforation about 4 inches in diameter near one end. It may possibly have stood as a hole-stone itself before being used as a support for the cross.

The cross-inscribed pillar near Stroove occupies a picturesque

and retired situation on the sea shore half a mile or more north of Inishowen Head. The cliffs here are lofty, and it is necessary to descend by a steep path from the road above. The pillar is 5 feet in height, and has on one side a Latin cross 15 inches long formed of grooves with circular ends; lying round are many white pebbles brought from the strand and left by visitors. Near the stone is a little spring dedicated to St Colum Cille, and



MOVILLE—CROSS INSCRIBED PILLAR AT STROOVE

(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

surrounded by rags tied to the grass and rushes. There is a tradition that the saint landed here after encountering a storm, and that having refreshed himself at the well, he wished to leave some memorial of his escape. Immediately this stone came rolling down the mountain side and was set up and inscribed by his followers.

Such are the principal crosses and cross-inscribed monuments of Inishowen; they are worthy of careful study, and will probably be admitted to compare favourably in variety and interest with those found in other districts of equal extent.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE CHURCHES OF INISHOWEN

The church-lands of Inishowen were set out by way of exception from the grant made to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8th July, 1610, and they were :—

1. FAHAN.—Six quarters of termonland or erenaghland in the country of Faughan or Fathen in Eneshown; and 60 acres of land within the parish of Faughen, near to those 6 quarters and adjoining the parish church of Faughan.

2. DESERTEGNY.—Two quarters of termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Dysertenny or Drysterteigney in Enishowen, 60 acres within the said parish and other 60 acres near the said two quarters, adjoining the parish church of Drysterteiginy.

3. CLONMANY.—Three quarters of termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Clonemany, and 60 acres in the said parish next adjoining the same three quarters, or next adjoining the parish church of Clonemany.

4. CARNDONAGH OR DONAGHGLINNETOCHAIR.—Three quarters called termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Donaghclantagh, and 60 acres in the said parish near the said three quarters next adjoining the parish church of Donaghclantagh.

5. CLONCA.—Six quarters of land called termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Clonca, and 60 acres of land in the said parish, near those 6 quarters, next adjoining the parish church of Clonca.

6. CULDAFF.—Three quarters of land of termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Coldagh, and 60 acres in the said parish near the 3 quarters of land and next adjoining the parish church of Coldagh.

7. MOVILLE.—Four quarters of termonland or erenaghland in the parish of Moyvill, and 60 acres in the said parish near those 4 quarters and adjoining the parish church of Moyvill.¹

FAHAN

Fahan, *Fathan-mor* or Fahan-Mura, Great Fahan or St. Mura's Fahan, so called to distinguish it from the neighbouring *Fathan-beag*, Little Fahan, is the site of an early monastery, whose first recorded abbot was Mura, fifth in descent from Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His date, therefore, will fall within the first

¹ *Inquis.*, Jas. I, Lifford, 16th April, an. 19.

half of the 7th century. The obits of the abbots, his successors, are noted down to 1098, after which the obits are those of airchinneachs, "erenaghs," only. It may be inferred that the abbey became extinct at the end of the 11th century. The airchinneachs, whose office was in theory that of hereditary trustees and secular administrators, seem about this time to have ousted the religious from monasteries in every part of Ireland and to have usurped their lands. Henceforward the status of Fahan was that of a parish church. It was, says Colgan, amply endowed, and possessed many objects of great value, amongst which were a large and very ancient manuscript of chronicles and other compositions relating to Irish history, and St Mura's staff, *Bachall-Mura*, a relic held in the highest veneration, richly adorned and carefully preserved; an oath taken upon it was especially sacred above all among the O'Neills, who were special clients of St Mura, their kinsman.¹ This crozier is now in the Royal Irish Academy's collection in the National Museum. Another fine specimen of early Irish craftsmanship is the shrine enclosing St Mura's bell. The bell and shrine were preserved at Fahan until after the great famine, and were then sold to a collector for £6. They subsequently passed through several hands, and are now in the Wallace collection in London.

CLONMANY

A third reliquary obtained at Fahan, though it belonged to the parish of Clonmany, was the Miasach, now the property of St Columba's College, Rathfarnham, and deposited in the National Museum. It was newly covered by Brian O'Muirgiussan in 1534, as an inscription testifies.²

The family of O Muirgiussan, anglicised Morrison, and con-founded with the Scottish family of that name, had an ancient connection with the church of Clonmany, of which Salomon O'Muirgasan was rector in 1425.³ Stations were formerly celebrated

¹ *Acta SS.*, 587.

² There has been some doubt as to the meaning of the name *Miasach*: O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 336, connecting it with *mios*, a month, supposed that the object enshrined was a calendar. The word is now understood to be derived from *mias*, a dish, which had also a now obsolete meaning, "Altar," *mensa domini*, the Lord's table. This derivation gives a more plausible sense of "altar ornament," and it was as an ornament that the Miasach was regarded. An inquisition taken at Lifford 12th September, 1609, found that four gorts of the glebe of Clonmany belonged "to the keeper of the Missagh or ornaments left by St Columbkill": *Inquis. Ul.*

³ Costello, *Annates*, 189.

on St Columba's day, 9th June, by going "the rounds" at certain places and reciting prayers, or perhaps hymns, ascribed to his composition. "They formerly drove their cattle to the beach on that day, and swam them in that part of the sea into which runs the water of St Columb's well, which is thereby made holy water; but this custom of late has not been practised. There is also a traditional story told here that the earth of a little hillock (*tempo desh* [?]), on the right of the road leading from the chapel to the church, formerly expelled all mice and rats until the earth of it was vended, when its expelling power ceased. Still, however, they carry all their dead around it, as being an ancient custom. There is a circular flat stone in the centre of the churchyard, about fourteen inches in diameter, on which are two round little hollow places, which they say are prints of St Columb's knees." ¹

CARNDONAGH

Colgan gives the following account of the parish of Donagh, of which he was a native: "This church was formerly a bishop's see, and its first bishop was Maccaerthenn, brother of the other Maccaerthenn, Bishop of Clogher. I myself was born in its district. It is to-day only a parish church of the Diocese of Derry, and is commonly called *Domnach-glinne-tochuir* (the Dominical Church of Causeway-Glen), and it is resorted to every year by a great concourse from the neighbouring districts and by pilgrimages, especially on the feast of St Patrick, who is the local patron. There is here a penitential bed of St Patrick, surrounded by polished stones, and there are other ancient monuments of the same kind and incitements to devotion which are resorted to with great piety." ²

Besides the crosses already described there, at the Protestant church is an ancient swinging bell bearing the following inscription:

+ Sancta : Maria : ora : pro : nobis

[alla] Ricardus Pottar [^{MAGPIE}_{DEVICE}] de yrucin me fecit alla.³

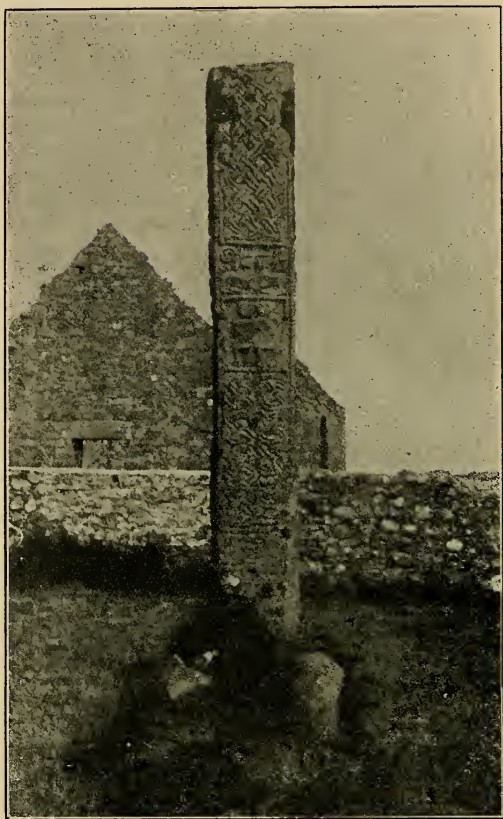
It has been suggested that this bell was recovered from one of the wrecked ships of the Spanish Armada, but there is nothing to support the suggestion. The word "potter," in the sense of bell-founder, is seen commonly on English bells of the 13th century.

¹ Rev. F. L. Molloy in Mason's *Parochial Survey*, I, 185.

² *Triad. Thaum.*, 7a *Vita S. Patricii*, p. 181.

³ Doherty, *Inis-Owen and Tirconnell*, 2nd series, p. 342.

A yet more ancient hand-bell of native workmanship was discovered about the beginning of the 18th century by the Rev. Michael M'Colgan at Keenaglug, and continued in the possession of the



CLONCA, CROSS SHAFT AND WEST END OF CHURCH.

M'Colgans of Prieststown until the year 1847, when a pawnbroker in Carndonagh sold it to Mr John Connellan Deane, who had charge of that district under the Temporary Relief Act. Mr Deane

presented the bell to the Royal Irish Academy, and it is included in the Academy's collection at the National Museum. It is about 5 in. high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the mouth, and had a handle pierced with two finger holes, the upper part of which is broken off. The keeper of the bell held a piece of land in the parish by right of his office.¹

The descendants of the hereditary keepers still preserve in the neighbourhood of Carndonagh the bell of St Boedan of Culdaff, a bronze bell, not symmetrically cast, of a type intermediate between the primitive rectangular iron bells and the later circular bells; it is almost 9 in. high excluding the handle, an almost rectangular loop, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by 3 in. wide. At the mouth the dimensions are $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. The middle of each side is pierced by a small hole.² This bell and that of Cumascach Mac Ailello († 909) from Armagh are obviously coeval.

CLONCA

The ruined Church at Clonca is in the main of the Plantation period; but the lintel with almost obliterated sculpture over the door in the western gable belongs to a more ancient building.

Two Irish inscriptions have been found at Clonca. One of them within the Church is on a flat, slightly tapered tombstone of limestone, skilfully carved with a design partly conventional and partly realistic. A large cross-hilted sword reaches the whole length of the stone and divides it into four panels. The pommel and cross-guard end in ornamental knobs which project slightly over the edge of the stone. The blade has an incised medial line, and its edges are sharp and not bordered; at the point it branches out into a fan-shaped device of leaves and flowers treated conventionally.

The panels are thus filled:—

1. An inscription in Lombardic lettering, to be read from the outer side of the stone, occupies the dexter chief:

MAGNVSMA
CORRISTIN
IAEOTKISE^o

The late W. J. Doherty in his *Inis-Owen and Tirconnell* gave the following transliteration and rendering:

MAGNUS MAC ORRISTIN IA FO TRIAT SEO.

MAGNUS MACORRISTIN OF THE ISLES UNDER THIS MOUND.

There is no uncertainty as to the reading of the name, but the remaining part is far from certain, and the reading and translation

¹ Doherty, *Inis-Owen, &c.*, 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

just given require some compulsion. The third letter of the lowest line seems clearly enough E, not F, and the sixth is identical with an undoubted K on the other side of the pommel. IAEOT is very like a blundered IACET.

2. In the sinister chief is the inscription :

FERGVSMAK
ALLAN DORI
NNI

continued on the sword-guard :

CLAGHSA

to be read from the edge on that side by a person standing near the top corner :

FERGUS MAKALLAN MADE THIS STONE

The Scottish dialectic forms, as well as the name MacAilin, indicate that the artist was Albanach by origin. A tombstone of this family is in the graveyard, and there are still MacAilins in the neighbourhood ; an adjacent townland is named MacAilinstown.

3. The panel in the dexter base is filled by a highly conventional but graceful and well-cut flowering branch. The top is expanded into four sprays in balanced pairs embracing pairs of opening leaves ; the stem bears, at equal distances opposite each other, on one side seven flowers, and on the other seven leaves.

4. The remaining panel contains the figures of a *camán*, or hurley, a ball and a great sword with a curved guard. Magnus MacOrristin was doubtless a great hurler and a great swordsman.

The other inscription is a fragment from, perhaps, a similar monument ; it has been read as follows :

. . . an O'Dubdagan DO R1 [me]
 . . . oS SO DO Domnall O n
 Sunm.
 . . . an O'Dubdagan made [this]
 [stone] for Domnall O N . . .
 here

Above the inscription is the device of a mallet and chisel. There are only a few letters missing at each end, so that the

incomplete names are short ones, as *Brian* at the beginning, and *O'Neill* at the end. Doubtful readings are shown by the italics.



Besides these Gaelic inscriptions there are some more or less quaint English ones.

1. A tombstone dated 1703 has at the top the device I H S above a winged head, beneath which is cut :

THIS MONEMENTE
WAS ERECTED BY
SHAN OBVRLAGHAN
FOR *THE* INTERING OF
HIS FATHER OWENO
BVRLAGHAN AND
THOS GE HIS ORJRRIN
LENALY ANO DO 1703

followed by figures of a hand-bell, a skull and crossbones. O'Burlaghan is an adaptation of O Brolchain, a name long connected with the parish. Salomon O Brolchain, rector of Cluaincatha, resigned his benefice to enter a religious order in 1427.¹

2. Another with the same emblems at top and bottom :

THIS MONVMENT WAS ERC
TED BY IAMES O DOGHERTY
FOR HIS FATHER IAMES O
DOGHERTY WHO DIED *THE*
19TH DAY OF IVNE 1716 AND
FOR HIS OFSPRING LINIAL
LY.

1717

¹ Costello, *Annates of Ulster*, 190.

3. Beneath a winged head :

HERE LYETH THE
 BODY OF WILLIAM
 M ALLEN WHO
 DEPARTED THIS
 LIFE MAY 15TH 1782
 AGED 66 ALSO HIS
 SON JAMES DIED
 APRIL 5TH 1756 AGED 19
 THIS STONE WAS ER
 ECTED BY WILLIAM
 MCALLEN HIS SON
 FOR HIS OWN POST
 EARITY 1784

On the north side of the church is the grave of "the Reverend and learned William Elwood," rector of the parish from 1720 to 1786.

About a mile beyond Clonca on the hill above the parochial house at Bocan there is a stone circle with many stones still in position, and in the neighbouring townland of Carha are some remains of an extensive sepulchral site.

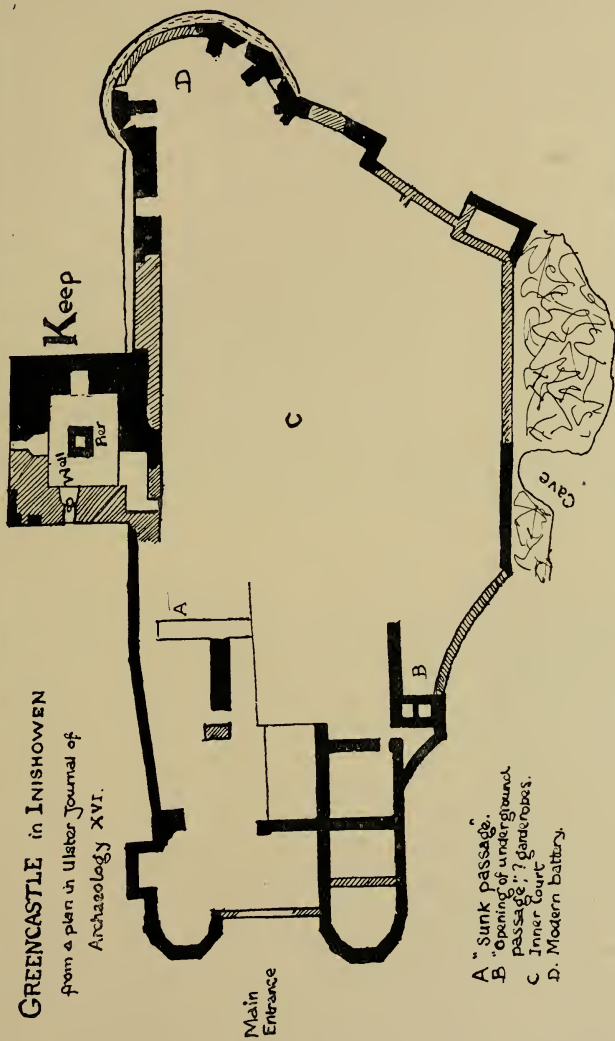
COOLEY

The small stone-roofed building, known as "the skull-house," in the graveyard of Cooley is a form of tomb of which other examples will be seen at Banagher and Bovevagh, which constant tradition identifies with the graves of saints. This tomb is 8 ft. 6 in. long by 6 ft. 6 in. wide ; the walls are 2 ft. thick, and at the sides they are about 4 ft. 6 in. above the present ground level ; the perpendicular height from the ground to the ridge of the roof is about 8 ft. There is an opening, 15 in. by 12 in., in the western gable, and one 15 in. by 5 in. in the eastern gable at a height of about 4 ft. from the ground, no doubt to permit the relics within to be seen or touched.

Such a shrine tomb is alluded to in a note in the 15th century Rawlinson MS. B 512 : [After St Cianán's burial] "a high bishop used to cut Cianán's hair and nails every Maunday Thursday in every year down to Adamnán's time. Now Adamnán went into the

GREENCASTLE in INISHOWEN

from a plan in Ulster Journal of
Archaeology XVI.



- A "sunk passage."
- B "opening of underground passage;" 7 garderobes.
- C Inner court
- D. Modern battery.

tomb to behold and touch the body. Forthwith his eye is struck out. So he fasts regarding it, and his eye is then restored to him. Thenceforward no one dares to enter the tomb." Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus* (Henry Bradshaw Society, xxix), p. 245.

GREENCASTLE

The castle of Greencastle in Inishowen, which was called the New Castle by the Irish, stands on a low rocky knoll on the northern shore of Loch Foyle at the entrance to the loch. Towards the sea the walls rise sheer above a low cliff ; on the opposite or northern side the knoll is separated from the adjoining country by a piece of marshy ground. The greatest length of the present enclosure is about 280 ft. from east to west, and its breadth from north to south is about 100 ft. exclusive of the projection of the great tower, some 36 ft. beyond the line of the northern wall. The castle was regarded until towards the end of the last century as part of the defences of Loch Foyle, and the modifications which were made to fit it for that purpose have necessarily altered or removed many of its ancient features. The main entrance was at the west end, between polygonal towers, which are now the most conspicuous of the remains, though not of formidable strength. The great tower, however, possessed the characteristic solidity of the work executed by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland during the first half of the 13th century. It measured externally 51 ft. by 45 ft., and the walls were 12 ft. thick at the ground level. In the middle of the lowest apartment of the tower is a hollow rectangular pier measuring 8 ft. by 7 ft., and there is a well in the thickness of the outer western wall.

The Irish annals agree in stating that the New Castle of Inishowen, which was the Irish name of this castle, was built by the Red Earl of Ulster in the year 1305, a remarkably late date for a Norman rectangular keep. This was, however, the date at which the Red Earl was consolidating his authority in these parts. The *Arx Viridis*, Green Castle, which Grace and Hanmer state to have been thrown down in 1260, was, it may be presumed, the castle of that name at the mouth of Carlingford Loch. At the beginning of the 14th century, under the name of Northburg, this place had some importance as a port of supply for the English armies in Scotland. In 1332 Walter son of Sir Walter Burke was taken prisoner by the Brown Earl of Ulster and brought to this castle, where he was starved to death. Tradition, for want of any other part of the

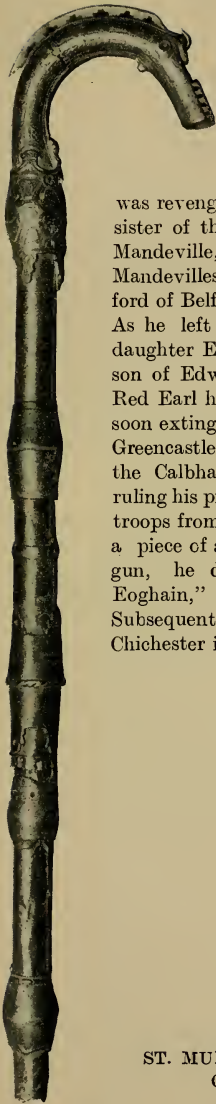


GREENCASTLE



DOE CASTLE

From Photographs by MR. T. J. WESTROPP.



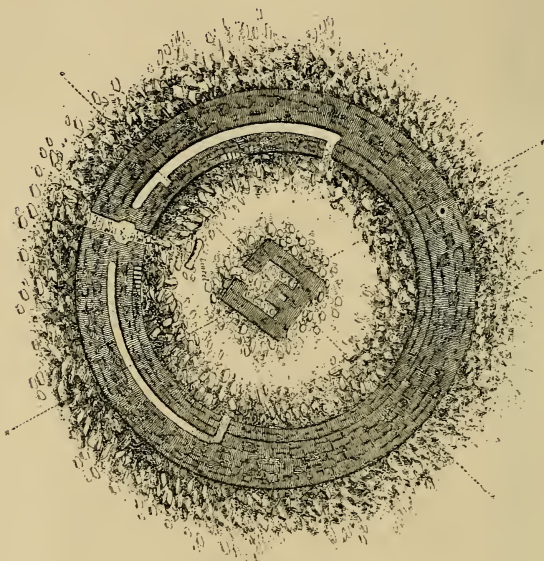
ruins to attach itself to, has fixed on the hollow pier in the great tower as the scene of this barbarity ; but, in fact, the prisoner was more likely to be secured in a wall chamber at the very top of the tower. The ground floor of these buildings was used for stores. The Brown Earl's cruelty was revenged in the following year. Gyle de Burgo, sister of the dead Walter, was married to Sir Richard Mandeville, and by her instigation, as is said, the Mandevilles waylaid the young Earl of Ulster at the ford of Belfast on 6th June, 1333, and murdered him. As he left no son, the Earldom passed with his daughter Elizabeth to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, 3rd son of Edward III ; but the authority which the Red Earl had sought to establish in these parts was soon extinguished, and there is no further notice of Greencastle for over two hundred years. In 1555 the Calbhach O'Domhnaill, while his father was still ruling his principality, went to Scotland and obtained troops from MacAilin, and returning with these and a piece of artillery called "gonna cam," the crooked gun, he demolished "the New Castle in Inis-Eoghain," and put his father under restraint. Subsequently it was conveyed to Sir Arthur Chichester in his grant of Inishowen.

ST. MURA'S
CROSIER

WEDNESDAY, 7th JULY 1915.

AILEACH

THE Grianan of Aileach is a prehistoric enclosure built of dry stone on a hill now called Greenan Mountain, that rises to a height of 808 ft. some 5 miles north-west by north of the City of London.



GRIANAN OF AILEACH

(Plan from Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry, 1837)

derry, and commands wide views down Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle. For a Summer Palace, which is one of the meanings of the word *grianan*, a fairer prospect could not readily be found.



SKULL HOUSE, COOLEY

(Photo by MR. T. J. WESTROPP)



WEST DOOR, CARNDONAGH CHURCH

(Photo by MR. F. J. BIGGER.)

The enclosure is almost circular, having an internal diameter of 77 ft. 3 in. from east to west, and of 76 ft. 6 in. from north to south. The wall is from 13 to 14 ft. thick at the base, receding internally by shallow terraces, which communicate with each other by short flights of steps; there are at present three terraces, but only the lowest one is of the original construction, as the upper portion of the wall is a restoration; the wall is now about 16 ft. high. There is but one entrance; it faces east, is 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the threshold, 3 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the lintel, and 6 ft. 1 in. high; the lintel, which was thrown down, was replaced in the restoration. On each side of this gateway there is a shallow recess near the inner end of the passage. The wall is hollow, both to the right and to the left, and at the position of these recesses, but completely built off from them, is, on each side, the end of a narrow passage which from this point runs for a distance of about a quarter of the circumference and then opens into the central area. The passages taper in width from 2 ft. 2 in. at the bottom to 1 ft. 11 in. at the top, and the maximum height is about 5 ft. The northern passage has a seated recess on the inner side about 10 ft. from the end towards the gateway; the southern passage is carried 7 or 8 ft. beyond the opening into the central area.

Previous to the year 1870, the wall had collapsed all round, as shown in the plan from the *Ordnance Memoir*, to within 5 ft. of its base, so much being protected by the surrounding debris. At the date mentioned Dr Bernard of Derry, at his own expense and with help from the people of the neighbourhood, began to rebuild the upper portion, and continued the work through several years until all the prostrate stones had been replaced according to the indications of the original state of the wall. He marked by a tarred line the level from which his work started. The structure was vested in the Board of Works by Lord Templemore in 1904, and the Board has since restored a part of Dr Bernard's work which had given way, and has maintained the monument.¹

The Grianan was not claimed by the Irish of early times as a work of their race. The legends ascribe it to the ancient deities or to semi-divine foreigners. One story is that when Corchenn of Cruach, having cause for jealousy, killed the son of the Dagda, the Dagda spared his life, but sentenced him to carry the corpse of the murdered man until he should find for it a pillar stone of its own height. The stone was found at Lough Foyle, and Corchenn heaved it on his back, with a groan, "Alas, the stone! I shall die of it"; and the weight killed him. "*Ailach* (stone, alas), shall be the

¹ See Report of Board of Works, 1907-8.

name of this place," said the Dagda; and he bestowed it on his foster-brother, the warrior-god, Nét, whence it got the name of Aileach Néit.

Another legend tells that Frighriu, a famous craftsman of northern Britain, absconded to Ireland with his king's daughter, and found protection from the King of Ireland. He here built the girl "a house of red yew, set out with gold and silver and brass and gems, so that by night it was as brilliant as by day." From him the place was called Aileach Frighrenn, "Frighriu's Stone-house." The girl, it is told, became the wife of Eochu Doimlén, King of Ireland, about A.D. 276, and was mother of the three Collas.¹



GRIANAN OF AILEACH

(From Photograph of H. S. Crawford)

When the sons of Niall had become masters of these territories, Eoghan son of Niall fixed his seat at Aileach, according to a story told in the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick*, for "the man of God accompanied Prince Eoghan to his court, which he then held in that ancient and famous seat of the kings called Aileach, and the holy pontiff hallowed it and its with his blessing, promising that of the seed of Eoghan many kings and princes of Ireland should come; and as a pledge of that blessing he left a stone there, blessed by him, whereon the promised kings and princes should be installed."²

In later times Aileach was a seat of the kings who ruled over the northern branches of the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and from it they are styled Kings of Aileach. The *Book of Rights* enumerates fifteen principalities subordinate to the King of Aileach.

¹ Rennes *Dinnsenchus* in *Revue Celtique*, XVI, p, 41.

² Colgan, *Triad. Thaum. 7a Vita S. Patricii*, cxviii.

It was hither that Muirheartach of the Leather Cloaks, in 941, brought the hostages whom he had taken in every province during his famous circuit of Ireland :

O Muirheartach, son of valiant Niall,
Thou hast taken the hostages of Inis Fail,
Thou hast brought them all to Aileach,
To the Grianan that has steeds from beyond the sea.¹

In 1101 the Grianan was demolished by Muirheartach O Briain, King of Munster, to revenge the destruction of Ceanncoradh



GRIANAN OF AILEACH—INTERIOR
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

(Kincora) by the King of Aileach in 1088, and he made his men carry off a stone in each of their provision sacks :

I never heard of billeting grit-stones,
Though I heard of billeting companies,
Until Aileach's stones were billeted
On the horses of the King of the West.²

ISKAHEEN

Iskaheen takes its name, apparently, from the pure waters, *Uisge chaoin*, of a holy well that stood near the ancient church, but which is now separated by the high-road from the ruins. In the graveyard of this church O'Donovan supposed that Niall of the Nine

¹ *Circuit of Ireland.*

² *Four Masters*, ad ann.

Hostages was buried, according to the quatrain quoted by the *Four Masters* at A.D. 465 :

Eoghan son of Niall died
Of tears—goodly his nature—
For the death of Conall of hardy feats,
And his grave is at Uisge-chaoín.

Eoghan and Conall were sons of the same mother, and were partners in the reduction of the north-western territories ever since their day occupied by their descendants, the Cenéal-Eoghain and the Cinéal Conaill. Like their elder brother, the monarch Laoghaire, they were contemporaries of St Patrick, and the piety of their descendants has been comforted by the belief that, unlike Laoghaire, they listened to the words of the apostle, and received baptism from his hand. There is, however, one story which represents Eoghan as having incurred the displeasure of St Patrick :

“Advancing from Domnach mor (Donaghmore, near the River Finn), the holy man enjoined upon his disciples to warn him when the illustrious Prince Eugenius (Eoghan) should approach. Now Eugenius met them in the place named Fíodh-mor, where he had come to receive the man of God with honour. . . . And there at Patrick’s preaching he embraced the faith of Christ. And Patrick said to him : “Had you received Christ’s saving doctrine in your own country, the hostages of the Irish would have come willingly to your hall as that of their King ; but since you have embraced it outside your own country, you will get no hostages but those you win by the strong hand and the sword.”¹ But the *Life of St Patrick*, ascribed to St Aileran the Wise, says positively that Eoghan “for some time opposed Saint Patrick and would not receive the Catholic faith.” It was only after he had been frequently preached to that he believed and was baptized.² And another story represents St Patrick as evangelising Inishowen, not in Eoghan’s time, but in that of his grandson and great-grandson, the former of whom is said to have laid violent hands on the saint, and to have expelled him from his territory when he ventured to mark out the site of a church in it.³ All these indications of opposition to the faith, continued to so late a time, make it questionable that Eoghan became a Christian, and received Christian burial. The neighbourhood of Iskaheen contains a number of monuments of pagan times, such as the standing stones called “Niall’s rocks” on the hillside over-

¹ Colgan, *Tripartite Life*, cxv. The heraldic bearing is evident.

² Colgan, *Quarta Vita S. Patricii*, lxxi ; Jocelin, *Sexta Vita*, lxxxv

³ *Trip.*, cxx.

looking the church ruins, and the dolmen, named on the Ordnance Map Cloughmore, *cloch mór*, the great stone, lying some distance to the west of them. The dolmen is locally known by old people as the "Giant's Grave."

O'Doherty says that an ancient bell, believed to have been removed from Iskaheen about 1864, twenty-six years before he wrote, was stated to be in use in the Protestant church of Muff, and that, like the Carndonagh bell, it has an inscription, "Ave Maria, ora pro nobis."

DERRY : THE ECCLESIASTICAL CITY

The City of Derry contained at the last census upwards of 40,000 inhabitants, and covered nearly 2,600 acres, so far has it spread beyond its original limits within the Island of Derry. This island, as it was called, is formed by the River Foyle sweeping round the eastern base of a gentle hill, which, on its opposite side was cut off by a piece of marshy ground from the adjoining country, except at the extreme south-western point; within its boundaries scarcely 200 statute acres were enclosed, and a grove of venerable oaks spread over a great part of its surface. The marsh has been filled up and built over, but it has left its name to the Cow Bog and the Bog Side. In this secure retreat, according to ancient stories, the princes of the line of Conall Gulban had a royal seat at the beginning of the 6th century, and even those of them who attained the monarchy of Ireland resided here down to Aedh son of Ainmire, King of Ireland from 568 to 598. He bestowed it as the site of a monastery on his relative St Columba. The year 546, assigned to the grant and foundation, has been rejected by serious historians, and a more probable time would be about the year 574, when King Aedh held the famous Convention at Druimceat near Limavady, and St Columba came from Iona to attend it.

The monastery of Derry makes no great figure in history, though it has had a notable place in legend. Like other Irish monasteries of the time, it was a cluster of churches and cells; like theirs, its buildings were at first of wood, and it was burned in 1095, 1135, 1149, and 1166. These and other calamities are the whole tale of its history for nearly 600 years. One of its churches was dedicated to St. Martin,¹ another was the great abbey church, the Duibh-Regles, the Cella Nigra of later ecclesiastical documents, which was

¹ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1203. It stood at the end of the street called St Columb's Wells. O'Doherty, *Derry-Columcille*, p. 40.

remarkable for being built on an axis running north and south, not in the more usual direction, east and west. St Columba, it was said, chose this position in order to leave the grove of oaks intact.

In the year 1162 "a total separation of the houses from the Churches of Doire was made by the successor of Colum Cille, Flaithbheartach O Brolchain, and Muirheartach O Lochlainn, King of Ireland, and eighty houses or more were demolished; and the *caiseal an erlair* (drystone wall of the floor) was also constructed by the successor of Columcille, and he launched a curse on him who should ever come over it."¹ This appears to be one of those rare and obscure references to a most important incident in Irish monastic history, not yet fully investigated, the transition of the monks from their ancient rules to one or other of the great orders of the universal church. The group of churches and cells, encroached upon by secular buildings and pursuits, was remodelled, the secular buildings were removed, and the monastery was henceforth secured from intrusion by a stone enclosure and by ecclesiastical censure. It was now, perhaps, that the monks of Derry adopted the rule of canons regular of St Augustine under which they lived in later times. Abbot O Brolchain was a man of pre-eminent ability; at a national synod held in 1158 he had been appointed abbot-general of all the monasteries with a seat among the bishops in ecclesiastical assemblies. The honour thus granted him has been interpreted to convey that he was then made Bishop of Derry,² whereas the true significance seems to be that he was given a position like that of a mitred abbot, on account of the authority he was to exercise over the religious houses.

To complete the reform at Derry a church was built outside the abbey precincts to serve the spiritual needs of the secular population. It was named Teampull Mór, the great church, though its length was but 90 feet,³ unwarrantably extended by Colgan to 80 paces (*passus*), or 400 feet. The Teampull Mór became afterwards the cathedral church of Derry. Its site is now occupied by a Catholic parish church, popularly known as the Long Tower, from a tower traditionally stated to have been a round tower, which stood here down to the end of the 17th century.⁴

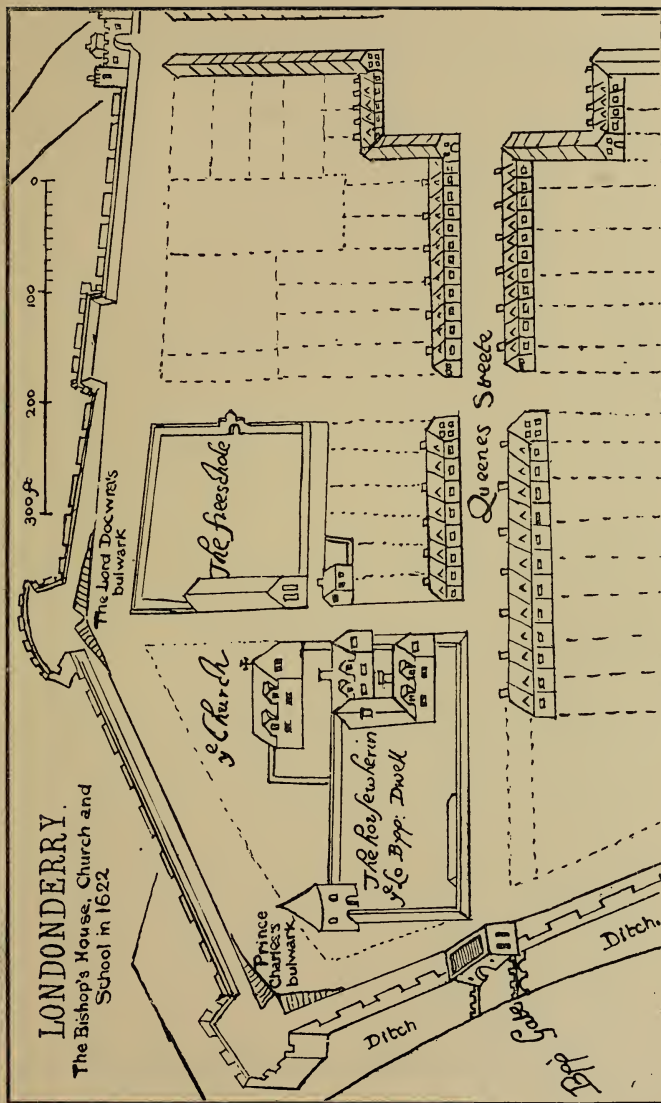
A further reform of the abbey was made in 1397 by Primate Colton, who ordered all suspect persons to be removed from the precincts, and the abbot and canons to return to the observance of a

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1162; *Four Masters*.

² *Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry*, p. 21.

³ *Annals of Ulster*: wrongly 80 feet in *Four Masters*.

⁴ *Ordnance Memoir*, p. 25.



SOUTH-WESTERN QUARTER OF LONDONDERRY
(From Facsimiles of Nat. MSS., Part iv. 2)

common life. In connexion with this visitation mention is made of chambers and other accommodation for guests, the choir of the abbey church, a dormitory and a refectory.¹ The abbey had, however, entered on a period of decay. In 1412 it was "so much impoverished through long wars and other calamities that its inmates could not be duly maintained."² In 1423 its buildings were reduced to manifest destruction and ruin by continual wars and deadly enmities in those parts.³ A hundred years later the position only of the church could be traced.⁴ The explosion of an English powder-house in 1567,⁵ and the works of Sir Henry Docwra in 1600, wrought further havoc.⁶ The plan of Docwra's fort,⁷ reproduced in the *Ordnance Memoir* and one of Derry in *Facsimiles of National MSS.* show what may be recognised as a side of the claustral buildings, that "peece of an ould monasterie" mentioned in Phillips's report, "longe before the burneing of Derry by them repaired and yet maynteyned" as the city church.

The writers of the *Ordnance Memoir*, not recognising that the Abbey of St Columba had become a house of canons regular of St. Augustine, were driven to invent another Augustinian house, "not noticed in the Annals," as they admit, to fill this site, "now occupied by the bishop's garden." But the site is that of the *Duibh-Regles*, the *Cella Nigra*, the Abbey of Derry.

One other religious house stood within the island—viz., the nunnery; its position has been rendered doubtful by carelessness in the inquisitions of James I and inaccuracy in some of the published calendars. It is thus described in an inquisition of 23rd November 1602, the last year of Queen Elizabeth:—

"A parcel of land called the island of Derry in Co. Donegall, contains a quarter of spiritual land and an old and ruined chapel of nuns, which quarter of land (except three crofts that pertain to the bishopric of Derry) and chapel with appurtenances belong and pertain to the now queen in right of her crown and by reason of divers statutes set forth in that behalf in this kingdom of Ireland:

"An old and ruined chapel with half a quarter of land called "Rossenecalliagh (Nuns' Point), beside the vill of Donalonge in Co. Culrane, with appurtenances, and another quarter of land called

¹ Colton's *Visitation*, ed. Reeves, *passim*.

² Bliss, *Papal Letters*, 1404-15.

³ Bliss, *Papal Letters*, 1417-31.

⁴ Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* Vita 5a cap. lvii.

⁵ C. S. P. I., 1509-73, pp. 331-332.

⁶ See *Ordnance Memoir*, pp. 36-38; also O Clerigh, *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*.

⁷ See p. 215.

“Ballynecallagh (Nuns’ Town), near the vill of Illagh in Co. Donagal, of right belong and ought to belong to the said queen as parcel of the possession of the said chapel of nuns of Derry.”

The word translated “nuns” above is in the original return in the Record Office, Dublin, written in a contracted form “*monarum*” for *monacharum* “nuns,” and has been wrongly extended *monachorum*, “monks,” in the printed calendar.

It appears correctly in the lease of 25th May, 1603, made by James I to Sir Henry Docwra :—

“DONEGAL Co.—One new house in the fort of Derrie, made and built by him, wherein he now dwells, with the old or late dissolved chapel of nonnes and the stone tower by the bog, situate in the said island of Derrie, together with the whole island and all other buildings, gardens, orchards and inclosures in the said island, the store-houses used for the King’s munition and victuals excepted. To hold for 21 years at the rent of 13s. 4d. without fine ; in consideration of his good and faithful service performed since his first going to Loughfoyle.”¹

A further grant, that made to Sir George Carewe on 3rd April, 1604, indicates the respective situations of the abbey and the nunnery on the island ; the nunnery occupied the northern half, and the abbey occupied the southern half :

“DONEGAL Co.—The site and precinct of the late monastery or house of canons of Derrie, called the Abbey of St Columbe, otherwise Collumkillie, containing 2 ‘crestus’ of lands adjacent to the abbey and the moiety of the island of Derrie, extending from the site of the said monastery to the river of Loughfoile on the E. and from the said site to the extreme end of the island on the S. containing $\frac{1}{2}$ of a small qr. of pasture, parcel of the estate of the said abbey, valued at 6s. 8d. by the year :

“The site and precinct of the late chapel or monastery or house of monks [*read* nuns] of Derry aforesaid, and the other moiety of the said island extending from the lands of the said abbey on every side to the end of the said island N., containing $\frac{1}{2}$ a small quarter of pasture ;² rent 13s. 4d.—Ballinacalleagh near the town of Ellagh, 1 gr., waste, and therefore only valued at 3s. 4d., parcel of the estate of the said abbey.”³

¹ Pat. 1 Jas. I, p. 10 xxxvii. 36.

² “Upon which were lately built domiciles for the inhabitants” : Erek, p. 133.

³ Chapel of Derrie, *ibid.*

"COLERAINE Co.—The site and precinct of the old ruinous chapel of Rossencallioch near Donalonge, and $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of waste land, parcel of the estate of the abbey¹ of Derrie; rent 1s. 8d." ²

The great inquisition of 1st September, 1609, is shown by this grant to be in error in returning the nunnery as on the south side of the city; but the inquisition will be found inaccurate in another particular. This, at all events, is clear from examination of all the documents, that within the island of Derry there were two religious houses and no more—namely, the abbey and the nunnery. It will now be useful to refer once more to Docwra's plan. A number of considerable buildings are shown standing to the north of the fort, and they are named "Babington's House," "Castle," and "Storehouse"; they correspond to the structures which Docwra's lease specified to be in that position—that is, the nunnery, the stone tower by the bog and the store-houses. Babington's house, therefore, represents the nunnery, and it has retained some semblance to a cloistered building. The site, so far as one may judge from the plan, was on the ground to the south side of the present Castle Street.

The nunnery, according to an entry cited by Harris, was of the Cistercian order, and according to Allemande it was founded by Toirdhealbhach Luineach O'Neill, and in 1218, one or other part of the statement being incorrect since Toirdhealbhach belongs to the 16th century.³

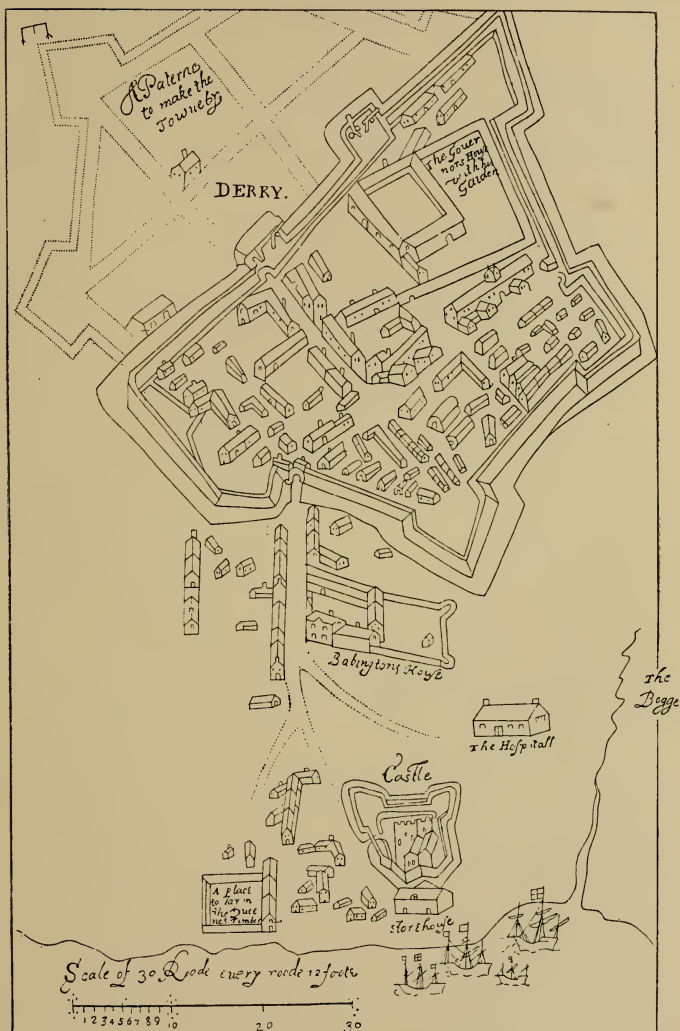
A third religious house at Derry remains to be mentioned; and it should be observed that the official documents deal with only three such houses, agreeing in this wherever else they differ. The third monastery was the Dominican friary, founded in 1274 by Domhnall O Domhnaill. In 1281 he was borne from the battlefield of Disart-da-chrioch to be buried within its walls. This friary stood on the north side of the bog, and Abbey Street runs through its site. Queen Elizabeth's inquisition of 23rd November 1602, describes it thus:

"An old and ruined church or house of Dominican friars with a carucate or an eighth of a quarterland beside the island or vill of Derry aforesaid similarly pertains and should pertain to the said queen."

¹ To same belonging, Erck, p. 133.

² Pat. 2 Jas. I, p. 57; lv, 5; extracted also by Sir John Davys to show the King's title, Russell and Prendergast's *Calendar*, 1608-10, p. 568.

³ *Ordnance Memoir*, p. 25.



DOCWRA'S FORT IN 1600

(From Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry)

Sir George Carewe's grant is to the same purpose :

"The site and precinct of the late Dominican friary, and the eighth part of a quarter of land or thereabouts situate near the island of Derry nigh the river Loughfoyle, on the N. part of the said island in Co. Donnegall, parcel of the possessions of the said friary."

But the inquisition of 1st September, 1609, has blundered in this case also, describing the house as follows :

"On the north side of the said bog near the island of Derry are the ruines of the late priorie or religious house of the begging friars of St Francis late dissolved, with a church yarde conteyning three acres or thereabouts to the said priorie or religious house appertayning and adjoyninge."

As the inquisition makes no mention of the Dominicans, it is evident that their house is intended here, notwithstanding the very precise mention of St Francis. The Franciscans, of course, do not use the titles of prior and priory, and no evidence apart from this error in the inquisition exists to show that they had a house at Derry. The particulars of the *Ordinance Memoir*, as of the inquisition, relative to a non-existent Franciscan Friary must be referred to that of the Dominicans.

BEGINNINGS OF CIVIL AUTHORITY

About the year 1307 Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, secured a foothold in Derry by obtaining from the then bishop such a grant of certain possessions of the see as enabled him to erect his own secular court within the ecclesiastical city. The English state papers show that the earl took care to have his acquisitions confirmed by the King's authority ; but they do not throw so much light upon the transaction as the Vatican archives do. A later bishop, Michael Mac Lochlainn, appealed to the Roman curia in 1327, representing that "his predecessor Geoffrey and the chapter had a dispute with Richard touching the patronage of certain churches and touching lands and rights belonging to the bishopric ; and the earl, relying on the temporal power, got the better of the bishop and chapter, who suffered heavily, but agreed verbally that the earl and his heirs should hold the portion and temporal jurisdiction which they had in the City of Derry, and also advowsons in certain places and divers tenements belonging to the church of Derry, paying a very small pension to the bishop. The earl has held these possessions for twenty years to the great injury of the see, and as he is now

dead, Bishop Michael has petitioned the Pope to compel the earl's heirs to make restitution." The Pope issued a commission appointing the Archbishop of Armagh to decide the case.¹ The result does not seem to be now on record ; but the extinction of the English power in those parts a few years later superseded all need for seeking a decision in form of law.

Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney having joined forces with O'Donnell against Shane O'Neill penetrated to Derry in October, 1566, and obtained a grant of the site for the queen. He turned the abbey into a fortress and posted Colonel Edward Randolfe there with a strong garrison. Randolfe was killed within a short time, two-thirds of the garrison perished of cold and disease in the winter, and finally a fire originating in a smith's forge blew up the magazine with the loss of thirty men.² The survivors were removed, and it was reported among the Irish that a wolf had fired the powder with a blazing fagot, and that St Columba had avenged himself.

In 1600 a more serious attempt was made by Sir Henry Docwra. He, too, fortified the abbey, and the plan here reproduced shows works of considerable strength and permanence. Nothing so formidable had been seen in those parts previously. "The English," wrote Lughaidh O Clerigh, "made very large defences and earthen ramparts round the monastery and the church (*daimhliag*). They made passages and covered ways of earth under the walls, and bulwarks upon them with embrasures and loop-holes to shoot from. They dug deep trenches all round on the outside. These works were much stronger and securer than the dwellings of lime and stone and the castles in building which much time and labour were spent. Then they pulled down the monastery and the church, and they showed neither honour nor respect to the great saint, for they destroyed all the ecclesiastical buildings in the place, and made rooms and sleeping apartments of them, and used some of them to eat in."³

Docwra thus became founder of modern Derry ; when James I came to the Throne, a king's letter for its incorporation was issued, 22nd March, 1604, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in these terms :

"Uppon the petition of Sir Henry Docwra, Knt., that the towne of Derry in the north of Ireland, newlie in the dayes of our late deere sister decessed made a colony of Englishe, and nowe growne to have some good number of inhabitants, might be incorporated

¹ Bliss, *Papal Letters*, ii., 1305-42, p. 256 ; see the bishop's statement in full in Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, p. 237.

² *C.S.P.I.*, 1509-73 *passim*.

³ *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*.

and indewed with some imunities and priuiledges for the good of that place and the better settlinge of those partes in civilitie and obedience : wee have referred the consideration thereof to you and our counsell there, and do aucthorize you to consulte thereuppon and to graunte it with such limmitts, liberties, priuiledges and imunities as may be leaste offensive to the Irish borderers thereabouts, and yet sufficient for the good government of the people there and for incoradging them both to manure the land and to trafficke. . . .

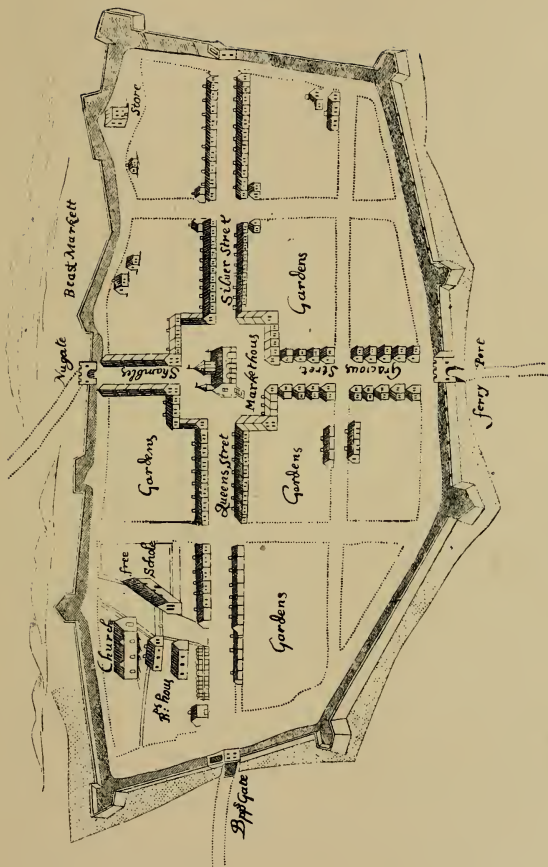
“ And in regard the said Sir Henrie has taken greate paines in reduceinge those partes to our subjection, wee are pleased that hee shall have the cheife government thereof dureing lyfe by the name of our provost, maior or bailiff, etc. ; and also have aucthoritie to nominate a vice-provost in his absence to have the like aucthoritie as himselfe being presente.” ¹

In accordance with this letter the first charter of Derry was granted on 11th July 1604, “ to Sir Henrie Docwra, Knt., and to the inhabitauntes of the town of Dirrie and of the circuit of land and water lyinge within 3 myles from the old church walles in said towne . . . same to be for ever one free and entire cittie and countie, and the inhabitauntes thereof erected into a corporation to consist of a provost, 12 aldermen, 2 shiriffes, 24 burgesses and so manie freemen as they shall chuse to admit according to the increase of the inhabitauntes . . . to build a common hall or towne house to be called the counsell house of Derrie . . . to erect a common gaole or prison . . . such corporators as be of one trade or occupation shall and may devide themselves into companies, guildes or fraternities, and erect for everie such companie a common hall wherein to assemble.” ²

Four years later Sir Caher O'Dogherty avenged himself for a blow on the face from the vice-provost, Sir George Pawlett, by laying the city in ashes ; but once again it arose. The citizens of London undertook a colony in the Plantation of Ulster, and under a charter granted 29th March 1613, to the Society of the Governors and Assistants (London) of the New Plantation of Ulster, the city was reconstituted by the name of Londonderry, with a mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and burgesses.

¹ Erck, *Repertory of Patent Rolls*, p. 165.

² Erck, p. 114.



LONDONDERRY IN 1625

(From Raven's Plan in *Ordinance Memoir of Londonderry*)

THE CITY OF LONDONDERRY

In six years from the granting of the second charter Pynnar reported that : "The City of London-Derry is now compassed with a very strong wall, excellently made and neatly wrought, being all of good lime and stone ; the circuit whereof is $284\frac{3}{4}$ perches at 18 ft. to the perch, besides the four gates, which contain 84 ft. ; and in every place of the wall it is 24 ft. high and 6 ft. thick," backed by 12 feet of earth and planked by nine bulwarks or bastions and two half bulwarks. "Since the last survey there is built a school, which is 77 ft. in length and 25 ft. in breadth, with two other small houses. Other building there is not any within the city. The whole number of houses within the city are 92, . . . neither is there room enough to set up 100 more unless they will make them as little as the first, and name each room a house." ¹

CATHEDRAL AND PARISH CHURCH OF ST COLUMB

At first, as has been said, "a peece of an ould monasterie," the remnant of St Columba's Duibh Regles, was used as the city church. In 1628 the London Society contracted with one Parrott to build a fair church on a neighbouring site for £3,400 and a bonus of £100. It actually cost £4,000, was completed in 1633, and still stands, after certain alterations, as the cathedral and parish church of St Columb. It consisted of a vaulted nave, aisles with galleries, a short chancel, and, at the west end, a tower ; its dimensions are given as 114 feet long, 66 feet wide, and 46 feet high, proportions which seem based on a harmonic progression. The tower was originally 66 feet high. In 1778 the more than celebrated Earl of Bristol, then Bishop of Derry, raised the tower 21 feet, and built upon it an octagonal spire of stone to a total height of 228 feet, a load too great for the substructures. The whole had to be taken down in 1802, and the present tower and spire were then built ; their height is 178 feet. The alterations, completed in 1887, added a new chancel 35 feet long to the original length of the church, and the aisles were extended to the end of the chancel ; an open timbered roof was substituted for the original roof of the nave.

Mr Champneys has given the following notice of this church :

"The Cathedral of Derry, finished in 1633, is—for the time when it was built—rather good work, particularly its arcade, and it

¹ Pynnar's *Survey*, 1619, in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of Nat. MSS.*, iv, 2, p. lxxxviii.

is certainly an interesting specimen of the Gothic of the time, though there appears to be nothing about it that is distinctively Irish. It was of far greater interest before the original short chancel with a barrel vault, in the form of a four-centred arch, and a stilted chancel arch of the same kind, springing from large corbels, was, five and twenty years ago, rebuilt with very unnecessary alterations, though the east window seems to reproduce nearly or precisely the old tracery. The old low aisle windows have been made architecturally absurd by the removal of the galleries, and the groined roof of stone with bosses (which was said to be unsafe) has not been rebuilt.”¹

THE LONG TOWER

Beyond the walls to the south-west is the locality called the Long Tower, with a graveyard marking the site of Abbot O Brochain's Teampull Mór, afterwards the cathedral of Derry. The earliest view of the tower from which the place is named represents it as rectangular, though the traditions collected by the compilers of the *Ordnance Memoir* described it as a round tower. Sampson mistook the windmill farther to the south for a round tower, and illustrated it as belonging to the Abbey of St Columba. A Catholic parish church now occupies the site of the old cathedral. A stone called St Columb's stone, which formerly stood in St Columb's Wells Street, is now placed in the Calvary beside the church. It is one of a numerous class of stones with circular cavities. The *Wells*, which are in the middle of the street, originally bore the names of St Columba, St Adamnan, and St Martin, respectively.

The position of the city and its substantial fortifications made it a place of great strength during the 17th century. In the Civil War it was held first for the King and then for Parliament. Its charter, annulled by Charles I, was renewed by Cromwell in 1656, re-granted by Charles II in 1662, and abrogated under James II in 1687 by judgment of the Court of Exchequer. The citizens closed their gates against King James's troops on 7th December 1688, and next year sustained the memorable siege of 105 days until 30th July 1689, when, after they had endured the greatest privations, and their garrison of 7,000 men had been reduced to 3,000, they were relieved by the arrival of the *Dartmouth* frigate and two merchantmen, the *Mountjoy* and the *Phoenix*, with supplies.

¹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1910), p. 202.

THURSDAY, 8th JULY 1915.

RATHMULLAN

THE ruins standing in the cemetery near the shore are those of a Carmelite friary founded by MacSuibhne (MacSwiney), the lord of Fanad. The friars seem to have continued in possession as late as 1595. In that year George óg Bingham and the garrison of Sligo made a descent on Lough Swilly by sea. "A monastery," says Lughaidh O Clerigh, "was there on the edge of the shore, built in honour of Blessed Mary, Mother of the Lord. They went to the monastery, and took away 24 mass vestments that were there and the vessels for offering the body of the Saviour, and other treasures besides." Subsequently they raided St Columba's island of Tory. "As for the abovementioned George, the Lord of the Universe did not leave him long unpunished after his return to Sligo for his outrage to the church of Blessed Mary and the church of Colum." Ulick Burke, son of Redmond na Scuab, who with his men had been in the raid, conceived that he had been slighted in the division of the sacrilegious booty. As he brooded over this, he one day found himself alone with Bingham in a room in Sligo Castle, and taxed him with the injury. Bingham disdained to answer, and the furious Burke with a sweep of his sword struck off the silent and scornful head.¹

In 1602 Queen Elizabeth leased to Captain Ralph Bingley for a term of years "the site, &c., of the late monastery of Begging Friars of the B.V.M. of Rathmullan in M'Swinie Fanet's country, containing in itself one ruinous church, a steeple, a cloister, a hall, three chambers, an orchard [*elsewhere* an apple-loft], a quarter of stony and unfertile land called Killinecrosse, and half a quarter of the like land called Farrennebragher" (*Fearann na mbrathair*, Friars' land).

King James granted the fee to James Fullerton in 1603, and about 1617 Bishop Knox entered into possession and converted the buildings into a residence for himself, retaining the tower and choir of the church for a domestic chapel. The date 1617 is carved on a stone over the principal door, and another stone, lying loose within

¹ Murphy, *O Clerigh's Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, p. 91, sqq.



RATHMULLAN
Exterior of Choir, South Side



BRACKFIELD BAWN

the ruins, bears the date 1618. There are some fragments of a tombstone with the arms of MacSwiney, and perhaps on this account the ruins are absurdly named locally and on the Ordnance Maps, both of the earlier and the later editions, "MacSwyne's Castle."

MacSwiney of Fanad had a castle here on the beach, which in 1587 was the scene of the kidnapping of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill, Red Hugh O'Donnell, planned by Sir John Perrot. "The castle," says O Clerigh, "was on the edge of the strand, and a church had been founded there close by in honour of Mary Mother of the Lord, to celebrate the canonical service and the Mass, and it was much frequented by the laity and clergy of the neighbouring district. It was built by the Clann Suibhne, who occupied the territory along the loch as far as the open sea, and other territories besides."¹ Certain vaults to the west of the friary have been pointed out as remains of the castle, but O Clerigh's words leave no doubt that it stood on the beach, and it was probably on the slight elevation now occupied by a group of buildings to the south of the pier and between the road and the strand.

DOE CASTLE

Doe Castle, *Caislean na dTuath*, or Castledoe as it was until lately styled, the chief seat of MacSuibhne na dTuath, MacSwiney of the Tuatha, though converted into a modern residence and occupied until comparatively recent times, has still the main characteristics of a 16th century fortress. On a low rocky point, washed on three sides by the sea and on the fourth defended by a ditch, a strong central tower rises to a height of 55 ft. within a battlemented enclosure or bawn. The principal entrance was on the land side by a bridge across the ditch, but there were approaches from the sea also. Below the original bridge, which is to the right of the later entrance, a masked outlet, now partially blocked by loose stones, opened into the ditch. The central tower is enclosed on three sides by modern constructions, which in part are built upon the walls of an inner rampart, such as the French styled "*chemise*" or shirt, at a short distance from the base of the tower, and flanked by circular bastions. The interior of the tower has been much altered. The lowest story is not now vaulted, and it cannot now be seen whether it was so originally or not. There is no sign of a vault at the summit of the tower. The original entrance was on the ground floor, and a straight stair in the thickness of the wall to the right of the door gave access to the upper floors, and, finally, becoming a circular stair in one angle of the tower, ascended to the battlements. The

¹ *Life*, pp. 4-7.

parapets of the tower and the enclosing wall were loop-holed for musketry, and in several places the loops were arranged in pairs, as at Carrigounnell, so that the same gunner could fire in two different directions.

The MacSwineys by whom this castle was built were brought into Tirconnell from Scotland by the O'Donnells as a military force, and, according to the practice of unmonied times, received grants of land for their maintenance and reward. The name Tuatha indicates that the territory allotted to this branch of the MacSwineys had been occupied by an ancient populace subjected by the dominant Milesians, and it was possibly amongst this early remnant that the heathen customs prevailed which were the occasion of a remarkable letter from Pope Alexander IV to Patrick, Bishop of Raphoe, in 1256. The bishop, at his own request, was directed to use the sword of ecclesiastical censure against lay folk (and the Irish word *tuath* has that meaning) of his diocese who worship idols, marry persons nearly related to them by kindred or affinity, and presume to argue against the Catholic faith and the authority granted by God to the Apostolic See.¹

In the latter half of the 16th century the famous Aodh Ruadh O'Doimhnaill was ward or fosterling of Eoghan óg Mac Suibhne, lord of the Tuatha, and that Achilles of the Gael must have spent much of his boyhood and been trained to martial exercises at this castle of the Tuatha.

In the Plantation of Ulster Doe Castle fell to Captain Sanford, and is thus described in Pynnar's *Survey* :

" Captain Sanford hath 500 acres called Castledoe. Upon this there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone forty feet square, sixteen feet high, and a Castle within it that is very strong ; himself with his Wife and Family dwelling therein, with four other English families on the Land."

Bishop Pocock in 1752 described it more fully as " a fine square turret of five stories, and near sixty feet high ; it is encompassed with an inner Wall and Turrets, and with a second almost all round. This was the strength of the MacSwines, who were masters of this country ; and after the wars the head of them being offered part of his lands, as they say, refused them unless he had all, and the books being shut, he lost all."²

The site of a church, said to be that of a monastery founded by MacSwiney for Friars Minor, stands on the shore somewhat to the west of the castle.

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernicrum et Scotcrum*, p. 71.

² *Tour*, p. 61.

DOON

The Rock of Doon is a precipitous mass rising boldly above a stretch of moorland ; at its southern end a block of stone is pointed out as that on which O'Donnell stood at the ceremony of his inauguration.

In the middle of a piece of flat ground to the south-east of the rock is the holy well of Doon, much frequented and credited with innumerable cures, attested by sticks and crutches wreathed with rags, set in thick order beside the well, and by rags tied to the neighbouring bushes. In contradiction of the common opinion that the veneration of wells has been handed down by tradition from pre-Christian days, the origin of the pilgrimage to Doon is comparatively modern. It was established by a priest named Friel (or O Firghil), supposed to be one of those wandering Franciscans who lingered in the neighbourhood of their old houses and ministered to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in penal times. He was, perhaps, a representative of the ancient airchinneachs of Kilmacrenan. Afterwards the well was blessed by a Father Gallagher.

KILMACRENAN

The ruins at Kilmacrenan are not extensive and have no notable architectural features. The graveyard is divided into two by a road ; on one side is the site of a church with a ruined tower of late construction ; on the other are the remains of a building traditionally identified with a house of Friars Minor established here by one of the O'Donnells.¹ Nothing can be gleaned of the history of this friary, which Allemande² says was unknown to Wadding. Nevertheless, to judge from the list of its possessions as set out when they were granted to James Fullerton, it should have been more wealthy than Franciscan houses in Ireland generally were. Fullerton's grant, of 11th October, 1603, enumerated more than 27 quarterlands with the rectory and tithes of Kilmacrenan, all of which were conveyed to him subject to a rent of 17*l*.³ It may be suspected that a considerable part of this large estate was "erenagh lands," the ancient endowment of the long extinct Columban monastery, of which the O'Firghils were Airchinneachs or secular administrators, and which, according to King James's settlement, should have been

¹ Ware, *Antiq.*, c. 26.

² P. 275.

³ Pat. Jas. I, p. 8 ; xv, 11 ; and *Erck.*, p. 41, where the rent is 7*l*.

secured to the See of Raphoe but for the device of passing them as the estate of the friary.

The interest of Kilmacrenan lies in its associations. In Irish its name was *Cell mhic Nenain*, the church of the son of Enan, and earlier, *Doire Ethne*, Ethne's Oakwood.¹ Ethne was the name of St Columba's mother, and it was here that St Columba received his first instruction, and that the heavenly favour of which he was the object was manifested to his instructor by a brilliant light shining above the bed of the sleeping boy.² The saint in after years obtained from his uncle Sedna the lands called subsequently the Tearmonn of Kilmacrenan, to be the site of a monastery ;³ and he is said to have prophesied that whenever any of the descendants of Dalach, ancestor of the O'Donnells, was about to fall by the sword the waters of the well at Kilmacrenan would turn to blood.⁴

While tradition states that the lords of Tir-Conaill were inaugurated on the Rock of Doon, the written record says that the ceremony took place in the church of Kilmacrenan. It was here that the nobles assembled on 3rd May, 1592, and elected the famous Red Hugh O'Donnell to take the place of his aged father. "The precise place where the nobles came together was at Kilmacrenan in the middle of the cantred of the Cinel Lughaidh, on the north of the Leannan, the place where Columcille was fostered, and it was by him the church was first established, and in it the O'Donnell was inaugurated in the chieftaincy of his territory, and it was the erenach of the same church that inaugurated him ; and it was through respect and reverence for St Colum that this was done there by the Cinel Conaill."⁵

The neighbourhood is filled with reminiscences of St Columba. Not far to the west of Kilmacrenan is Temple Douglas, *Tulach-dubhghlaise*, the site of a religious house on the spot where he was baptised, and a little farther is Gartan, where he was born.

Colgan has thus turned into Latin some Irish verses attributed to St Mura of Fahan :

Ediderat mundo Gartan, Dubhghlassia Christo,
Nutrierat celebrem Killenia fausta Columbam

At Gartan was Columba born, at Temple Douglas christened ;
In Kilmacrenan's happy school to holy lore he listened.

¹ Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, 5a Vita, i, xxix, xxx.

² Adamnan, *Vita Columbe*, iii, 2.

³ Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, 5a Vita, i, lxix.

⁴ *Ib.* lxxviii.

⁵ Murphy, *O Clerigh's Life of Hugh Roe*, p. 41. Possibly, as was the case with the Kings of Munster at Cashel, there were two functions, a religious one at the church and a secular one at the rock.

BATTLEFIELD OF SCARIFFHOLLIS

Scariffhollis, *Scairbh-sholuis*, "the stony ford of light," about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Letterkenny was the scene of the total defeat of MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, and the Royalists of Ulster by the Parliamentarians under Sir Charles Coote in 1650. The bishop was appointed general of the forces of Ulster for Charles II by commission from Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, in April, 1650, and speedily advanced into the Parliamentary quarters in Armagh and Derry. Venables with the English forces fell back behind the Bann; Coote with the Laggan army retired beyond the Foyle, and prepared to contest the passage of that river at Strabane. The bishop, having reduced and garrisoned the enemy's posts in Co. Derry, except the city, marched rapidly through the mountains, and arrived on the east bank of the Foyle on the evening of the 1st or 2nd of June. He immediately passed the river at a tidal ford below Lifford, and his whole army was on the western bank before Coote could come up to oppose him. Next morning the two armies found themselves drawn up in full view of each other, but too strongly posted for either to risk an attack. The bishop feigned to move away, and Coote made a brisk onset with a body of horse, which, however, was overthrown and driven back in such confusion that Coote was obliged to send forward troops to bring them off. The bishop did not support his men in the pursuit, and thus, in Coote's opinion and that of the Irish officers, the Parliamentarians escaped destruction.¹

The good fortune that had followed the bishop's movements hitherto now abandoned him. He lost time in useless enterprises, and gave Venables an opportunity of marching from Coleraine to Derry, and of detaching Colonel Fenwick with 1,000 men to reinforce Coote. At the same time his own strength was reduced by garrisons and detachments, especially by permitting Colonel Myles Mac Swiney to indulge his family vanity in leading off 1,300 or 1,400 men against Doe Castle.² Coote, joined by Fenwick on 18th June, and reinforced by the Scottish gentry of the district on horseback, who after they had paid court to the bishop at Lifford, and had been well received and admitted to protection, deserted in a single night to his enemy,³ determined to try conclusions while the bishop's

¹ Coote, *Report to Ireton*, 2nd July, 1650, in Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, iii, 147-9; *History of the Warr in Ireland*, p. 123.

² *History of the Warr*, p. 125; O'Neill's *Journal*, p. 523.

³ *History of the Warr*, p. 124. They, perhaps, had formed a poor opinion of his lordship's military skill.

troops were scattered. The latter was posted in very strong ground on the northern bank of the River Swilly near Letterkenny. On 21st June Coote showed himself in battle order on the opposite hills. His force, according to the lowest estimate, was 3,000 foot and 800 horse.¹ The bishop, against the opinion of his officers,² resolved to fight. He had at hand about 2,600 foot and 400 horse,³ a force inferior in number to his adversary's, but all resolute men accustomed to fight side by side, veterans of Owen Roe O'Neill, the never-defeated, "confident victorious army of Ulster." The ground was unfavourable for the use of cavalry, and the enemy's preponderance in that arm would give him little advantage in the actual conflict.

Just below the hamlet of New Mills the valley of the Swilly begins to open out near the site of an old castle of the O'Donnells, and the river winds in a tidal channel through level holms. The bishop drew out his army, and passing the river, showed his willingness to fight. It was the opportunity Coote was anxious for. He ordered Fenwick to charge the Irish. The advanced parties came into collision between the two armies; the captain of the Irish was shot and his men gave way; a brigade was ordered to their support, and the Parliamentary skirmishers retired. Fenwick thereupon charged the Royalists, but fell himself at the first discharge; his men, however, held on, and as they closed, Coote sent forward another brigade to steady them after their colonel fell. The commander of the Royalist brigade being, by a repetition of the former blunder, left engaged without supports, saw himself in danger of being overwhelmed. He ordered his men to fall back to a ditch which they might hold until supports were sent up. They faced about, an unfortunate manœuvre, for Fenwick's brigade pressed forward in their rear so hotly as to throw them into disorder. Their Colonel, endeavouring to stem the current, was taken prisoner, and the

¹ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, Reign of Charles II, p. 24, *seqq.* This probably is an underestimate for both arms. Borlase (*Irish Rebellion*, p. 253), followed by Clarendon, says that Coote was inferior in foot, but had threefold strength in horse. The writer of the Latin account in Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*, iii, 154, also says that Coote had thrice his opponents' strength in horse, and rates him twice as strong in foot. Borlase probably reckoned the absentees in the bishop's numbers. If Coote had only 2,000 foot at the Foyle against the bishop's 4,000 the latter did, indeed, blunder there.

² The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, though often untrustworthy, is in this supported by the Latin account, "*concilio bellico refragante*" *i.e.*, and by the Author of the "*Warr*" "the Bishop-General valued not nor considered . . . but, Cæsar-like, forthwith he must fight."

³ All accounts agree in estimating the bishop's full strength in Tirconnell at 4,000. There cannot have been more than 2,600 in his camp at this date, excluding horse.

brigade lost heart and fell to pieces. They were hurled in confusion on the next brigade of their own men, which also had its formation broken. Coote launched another brigade on the flank of the struggling mass, while Fenwick's brigade bore them down in the rear. The whole chaotic tumult was driven towards the ford, where the leaders hoped to make a stand ; but before it was reached all resistance was at an end, and the fugitives were cut down as they ran. Fifteen hundred, including Major-General O'Cahan and many of the principal officers, fell on the field. The officers who surrendered were put to death afterwards by Coote's orders although they had been given quarter. Owen Roe's son, Colonel Henry O'Neill, was clubbed to death next day outside Coote's tent, who, when the prisoner reminded him that but that Owen Roe had relieved him at Derry he himself would have perished. "Your father," said Coote contemptuously, "got his wages for that," alluding to the £5,000 he had received. The execution spread for ten or eleven miles in every direction, and the country-people joined in the pursuit and slaughter. Of the whole Irish army it was thought not about 500 escaped alive. A small party under Major O'Hagan held out in the old castle, and got quarter on condition of having one of the Co. Derry posts surrendered. On the other side were lost "only Captain Sloper of Colonel Venables' regiment, about eleven or twelve private soldiers, Colonel Fenwick, Captain Gore and an Ensign, with some few soldiers hurt and wounded." ¹

The bishop, when the day was lost, quitted the field with his Lieutenant-General, O'Farrell, and the cavalry. Two days later he was intercepted by the Governor of Enniskillen, wounded and taken prisoner on quarter. He was detained at Enniskillen for six months, until his thigh, which had been broken, was knit again, and then in spite of all the efforts of his generous captor, Major King, and notwithstanding that he held the Lord Lieutenant's commission, Coote hanged him, as Clarendon says, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach and cruelty he could devise.

¹ *History of the Warr in Ireland*, 127-9. The author, whose identity has not been ascertained, saw service all through the war, chiefly in British regiments. He was with the bishop in this campaign, and escaped from Seariffhollis with Colonel Alexander MacDonnell, afterwards Earl of Antrim, whose horse, "Strawberry," he knew by sight and name. His language has some Scotticisms, but he shows no sympathy with the Laggan gentry. He was probably a County Antrim man. He wrote his narrative between 1682 and 1688. Coote to Ireton, *ut supra*.

CONWALL

Conwall (Congbhail) is the site of a very ancient monastery, one of whose abbots, Fiachra, was also abbot of Clonard, and died towards the end of the 6th or in the first half of the 7th century.¹ The remains of this ancient monastery are chiefly sculptured grave-slabs, and there is one curious stone pierced with an oblong hole.

Amongst the noble dead here buried was Godfrey O'Donnell, lord of Tir-Conaill, of whom it is told by the Four Masters under the year 1258 that having been sorely wounded in single combat with the justiciary, Maurice FitzGerald, he was carried to an island in Loch Beagh (*Beathach*) to die. Brian O'Neill (of the Battle of Down) seized the opportunity to demand hostages from Tir-Conaill in token of vassalage. The dying lord called out his levies, ordered his coffin to be got ready, and was borne in it amidst his men to resist O'Neill, whom he met and defeated on the Swilly. After the fight he was borne triumphant, still in his coffin, to Conwall, and as the bier was lowered in the street of the town, he expired.

FARSAD MÓR

Farsad mór, the great sand-spit at the mouth of the River Swilly, was the scene of the defeat of Shane O'Neill by the O'Donnells in 1567. O'Neill had invaded Tir-Conaill by crossing the Swilly here at low water, but was met by the O'Donnells on the northern bank, and after a severe struggle he was driven back to the estuary; the rising tide had, however, made it impassible, and the greater part of the invading force was slain or drowned. O'Neill himself escaped with difficulty along the northern bank as far as Scariffhollis, where he crossed and continued his flight into Tyrone.² It was in consequence of this defeat that he sought assistance from the Scots at Cushendun, where he was slain by them.

BALLEEGHAN

At Balleeghan, *Baile-aighidh-chaoín*, there was, according to Ware and Allemande, a Franciscan friary, of which nothing is known. The present ruin is that of a large nave, about 80 ft. long by 20 ft.

¹ Archdall.

² *Four Masters*, Ad ann.

wide, with inserted Gothic details of the Plantation period. The east window is an effective three-light window of that date, with a short flight of steps on the inside projecting sideways from the wall to the level of the sill. There are two other traceried windows, one in the south wall and a low one in the north wall not exactly opposite. Nearer to the east and in this wall there are traces of an arched wall-tomb, and in the floor of the nave is a flat tombstone with armorial bearings.

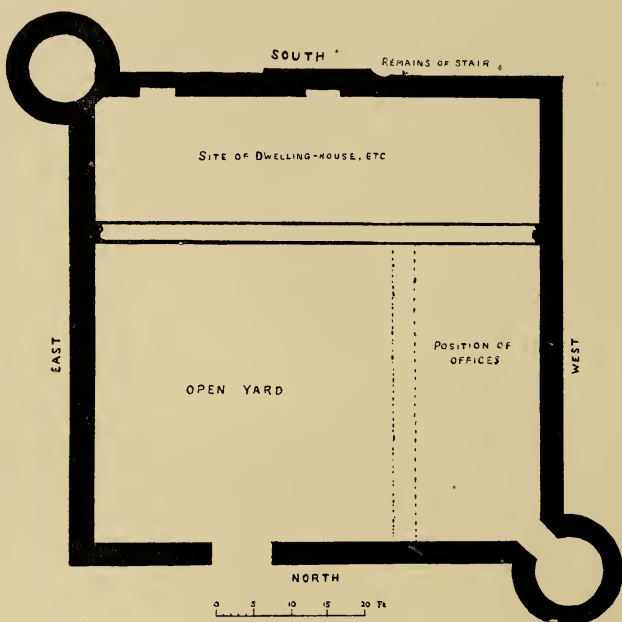
Not far from this church, not then described as a monastery, Shane O'Neill pitched his camp in 1557, when, in his father's lifetime, he was resolved that there should thereafter be but one King in Ulster. Two spies of the Calbhach O'Donnell's penetrated into his camp, and returned with a report. A huge fire was kept burning in the middle of the camp before the tent of O'Neill's son, that is, Shane ; near the fire an enormous torch, thicker than a man's body, was kept blazing constantly, and by it there always stood on guard 60 galloglasses with gleaming axes, and 60 Scots with naked swords. Nothing dismayed by this report, the Calbhach with 30 horse and two companies of galloglasses surprised the camp, and cut his way right up to the body-guard. Shane O'Neill, on hearing the uproar, fled through the back of the tent, and never stopped until he reached Errigal Keerogue in the south of Co. Tyrone. His men were completely defeated, and his famous horse, *Mac-an-iolair*, son of the eagle, fell to the victor.¹

¹ *Four Masters*, Ad ann.

FRIDAY, 9th JULY 1915.

BRACKFIELD BAWN.

At Brackfield, about eight miles from Derry on the road to Dungiven, is one of the smaller bawns of the Plantation period. Undertakers in the Plantation were required to erect



defensive buildings, proportioned to the extent of their grants, within two years of the date of their letters patent ; for 2,000 acres, a castle with a strong bawn ; for 1,500 acres, a house of stone or brick with a strong bawn ; for 1,000 acres, a strong bawn at least. The bawn at Brackfield is an enclosure about 70 feet square ; the

southern side was closed by a house running the full length of the side and about 17 feet wide internally ; of the house only the outer wall and gables remain, none of them to the original height. Office buildings probably ran along the western side, so that an open court, about 42 feet square, lay in the north-east quarter of the bawn. The gate was in the middle of the northern side of this court. The exterior of the enclosing walls was defended by two circular flankers, one at each extremity of the diagonal running approximately north-west and south-east.

BANAGHER

The ruins of the old church of Banagher stand on the top of a steep knoll overlooking the valley of the Owenrigh, a tributary of the Roe, about two miles to the south of Dungiven. They are thus described by Mr Champneys :

“ The building consists of nave and chancel. The nave measures 35 ft. in length by 20 ft. wide. The walls are about 15 ft. in height, and the west gable is nearly perfect and is carried up to a great height in its pitch. The walls are about 3 ft. thick. The masonry of the nave is of good hammered stone, but not laid in courses, except in the west gable, where the stones are smaller than those in the north and south walls, and are laid in rude courses. The chancel measures 20 ft. 8 in. in length by 16 ft. in width, and the total length of the building, including the thickness of the transverse chancel wall, is 57 ft. 8 in. The masonry of the chancel is more elegant externally than that of the nave. It is ashlar, and of unusually large stones, with good rubble grouting inside. There is evidence to prove that the angles were constructed of cut stone with a deep and graceful moulding.

“ The west door . . . is very remarkable. Unfortunately this [exterior] view of it is partly obstructed by the graves and tombstones, which rise to a height of 4 ft. and 5 ft. in front of it. It is externally 6 ft. 10 in. high, 3 ft. 5 in. wide at the base and 2 ft. 7 in. at the top. The tympanum is 2 ft. 2 in. high. A large block of stone, 5 ft. 9 in. in length and 1 ft. 7 in. high, forms the lintel outside, which does not, however, reach back the whole thickness of the wall, but inside it forms a sort of tympanum to a semicircular arch of regular dressed stone. In the middle of the inner face of this great lintel is a rude projection, probably intended as a stop to the door when shut, to prevent its being prized upwards. Externally there is a fine architrave above and at each side.

“ The east wall is entirely prostrate. An old man informed Dr

Petrie, when he visited this church in 1832, that it had fallen thirty-six years before. He described the east window as round-headed, upwards of 6 ft. high, being a single light, about 1 ft. wide externally



BANAGHER—WEST DOOR : INTERIOR

and 3 ft. wide internally. Many of the stones which formed the east window lie scattered in the churchyard.

“There is a round-headed window in the south wall of the nave, with a bold moulding on the outside. The arch is scooped out of two stones. The jambs outside cannot be measured, one being

partly broken away. This aperture is of cut stone. The inner arch is 5 ft. 8 in. high, 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the top and 2 ft. 11 in. at the base ; there is a very deep splay downwards. On the sides, top and bottom of this window holes may be seen, which are meant apparently for a frame on the sides. The south window in the chancel is very remarkable. The aperture outside is rounded at the top, and



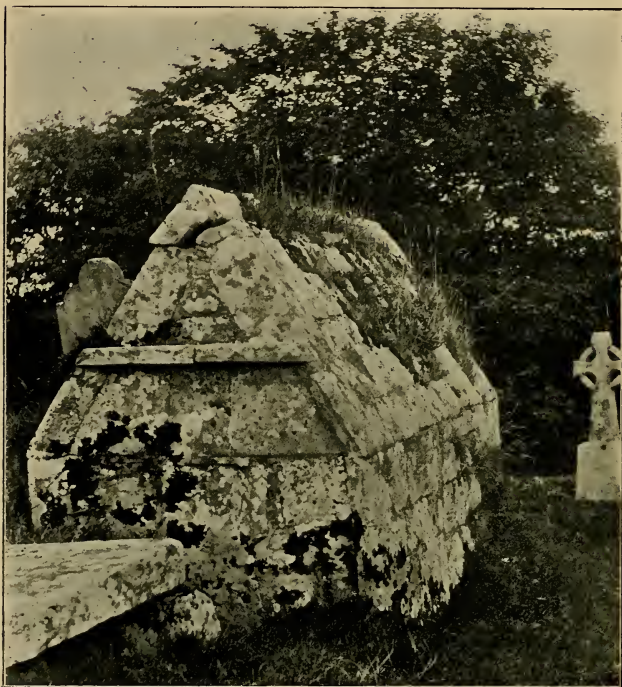
BANAGHER—SOUTH WINDOW IN CHANCEL

measures 6 in. wide and 2 ft. 11 in. high. The jambs are vertical. The internal moulding is remarkable.

“An old man, upwards of seventy years of age, informed Dr Petrie in the year 1832 that he remembered the chancel arch standing when he was a boy, and that it was a round arch, the height of which he could not recollect.”¹

¹ Champneys : *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 112.

Much uncertainty still exists on several points regarding this church of Banagher. Though it must have ranked as a place of some consequence, only one reference to it has been found in the *Annals*, which, perhaps, is due to the identity of its name (*Benn-char* in its early form) with the more celebrated *Bennchar Ulad*,



BANAGHER—TOMB OF ST MUIREADHACH O H-AENAIGH

Bennchar of the Ulidians, now Bangor, Co. Down. At 1121 the *Annals of Ulster* record that Gilla-escoip-Eoghain Ua Andiaraidh, King of the Ciannachta, was killed by his own kinsmen in the middle of the cemetery of Bennchar, so that there was a church here at that date. Dr Reeves, arguing from the period at which the use of surnames was established in Ireland, concluded that the founder St Muireadhach O'Heney had flourished in the previous century. But

many instances occur of much earlier use of patronymics of similar form. Furthermore, incidents related of this saint, who is not found in calendars, are more suggestive of his living after the establishment was completed than of his being an original founder. No safe deductions can be drawn from these considerations.

Another tradition included Banagher among the churches founded by St Patrick when he made his missionary journey up the valley of the River Faughan, and this may be the authority for the late inscription cut on the side of the door of the church attributing its foundation to 474.



BANAGHER—THE RESIDENCE

To the south of the church is the very remarkable tomb of St Muireadhach O'Heney in the shape of a small oratory or shrine, faced with ashlar masonry of sandstone. It measures 10 ft. in length, 4 ft. 9 in. in breadth, 8 ft. in height to the gable ridge and 4 ft. to the eaves.¹ At the western end a large stone is set in on which is carved in relief the head and shoulders of a man with a staff in his right hand and on his head a singular high head-dress. The surface of the stone is decayed and the lines are indistinct; but it may be doubted whether this head-dress was intended, as Lord Dunraven supposed, to represent "the conical cap which was used by the Gallican clergy of the western church."² The figure is believed to

¹ Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 449.

² Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, 117.

be that of St Muireadhach, and before it is a small hole in the ground from which is to be obtained the "Banagher sand" to which wonderful virtues were attributed. Thrown upon a race-horse in his career it was held to ensure his victory.

There is a small and rude stone cross to the east of the church.

To the west and outside the graveyard is another building at the high-placed door of which, as tradition says, St Muireadhach used to show himself to the people. The building was apparently a residence. The windows were few and small. Towards the north west angle there is a stone for discharging water through the wall from the upper story. The building was entire except the roof in 1814.¹

Mr Champneys, influenced by Dr Reeves, but adding other considerations, has concluded that the nave of Banagher was built at some date not so very far removed from A.D. 1100.²

DUNGIVEN

Dungiven, in Irish *Dun-geimhin*, the "munitio pelliū," fort of hides, of Colton's Visitation, fell, by a quaint chance, to the Skinners of London at the Ulster Plantation.

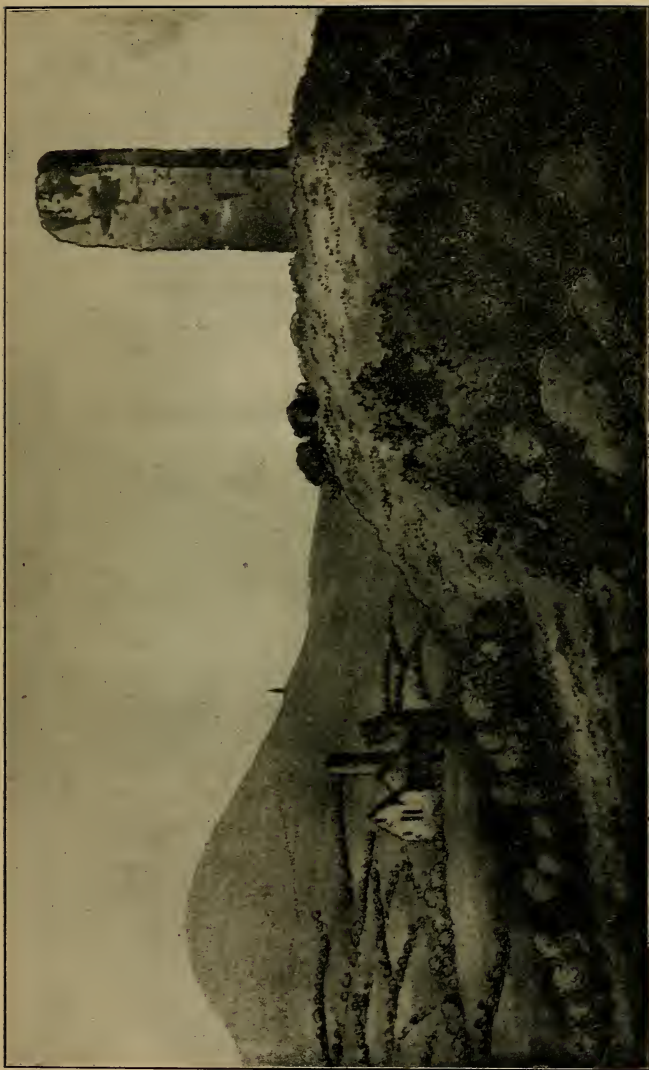
THE CASTLE.—The Skinners' castle and bawn stood at the head of the main street of the town, opposite to the Protestant church, on a site now occupied by a more modern building. The house, 150 ft. long, 20 ft. wide, and flanked by circular towers looped for musketry, stood on the slope overlooking the River Roe, and was defended on that side by an earthen rampart and ditch; on the opposite side was a bawn 150 ft. long, 120 ft. broad in front of the house, surrounded by a wall 20 ft. high, with loops for musketry, and having its *chemin de rond* carried on arches; square flankers stood at each corner.³ In the Cromwellian period it was held for the Parliament by Colonel Mark Beresford, who, on 30th May, 1650, unsuccessfully attempted to defend it against the Royalists under Bishop Mac-Mahon. The bishop gave the following account of the affair in his report to Ormonde:

"Wee resolved to march into the county of Derry to divert their [Coote & Venables] conjunction, and ariveing at a place called Dongevin, a considerable flortte in the said county comaunded by Lt.-colonell Beresforde, who was sumoned to deliver the possession therof to his Maties use, wch he utterly reiected, the coppies of my

¹ Sampson, *Memoir of Londonderry*.

² *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 102.

³ Mason's *Parochial Survey*, i, 284.



DUNGIVEN—PRIORY AND STANDING STONE IN 1814
(From Sampson's *Memoir of Co. Londonderry*)

letters to him and his answeare there uppon here inclosed sent will more at large informe y^r Excie therein ; whereuppon I had the armie drawn before the said forte, and a partie employed under the comaund of Colonell Myles Swine, who within halfe an houres time gained the said fortte, puting to the sworde all the warders except the said Lt.-colonell, who saved himself hidden amongst ladyes and other gentlewomen, yett he is deadly wounded.”¹



DUNGIVEN—CHANCEL ARCH AND EAST END
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

ST MARY'S PRIORY.—A monastery for canons regular of St Augustine was founded here by O Cathain in 1100, according to *Allemande* ; but it does not appear that the Ui Cathain were lords of this district of the Ciannachta at so early a date. Echri O Maolmuire was lord of Ciannachta until 1100, and Dunchadh O Conchobhair was lord of the Ciannachta Ghlinne-geimhin until 1104. The first O Cathain named as lord of Ciannachta is Ragnall

¹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, ii, 423.

son of Iomhar, who was killed in 1138. It is more probable that the monastery of Dungiven was one of the early foundations which like Derry, adopted the rule of the canons regular in a period of reform. The Ui Cathain after their rise to power were, no doubt, benefactors to the house, and made it, as Sampson says,¹ their burying place. The priory is occasionally mentioned in the calendars of the Vatican Archives, especially during the 15th century, when the family of O Muireadhaigh (Murray) had the chief interest in it. It was worth at that time 16 marks a year, or something more than £200 present currency ;² and it does not appear to have been a wealthy house at any time, and no conventual buildings are specified in the inquisition of 10th November, 1603. It was then described as " a suppressed monastery or house of canons, called Dungevyn in Co. Colrane, with a cemetery surrounding it ; and the prior and convent at the time of its dissolution were seised as their demesne in fee of a quarter of land called Tiremeely, another called Mayherydungevyn, a quarter of land called Ballywully, and another called Leighvallychuiyg. They were also seised of the rectory of Boydony in Cormac O'Neill's country or territory ; but what the annual value of the rectory may be the jurors know not because it is long lying waste." ³

The church consists of a nave and chancel ; the internal dimensions are given as, for the nave, 40 ft. long and 20 ft. wide ; for the chancel, 22 ft. long and 18 ft. wide. At the south-west angle of the nave stood a tower, of which the foundations only are seen. It was rectangular until it rose clear of the wall of the church, and was circular above that height. It fell a few years before 1814.⁴ The chancel was originally covered with a groined vault, and the east window had two narrow lights, widely splayed internally. A clumsy moulding of late construction is carried over the heads of the lights in a single arch. This and some other details may be assigned to a reparation in the beginning of the 17th century to fit up the building as a Protestant parish church. The upper part of the chancel arch may have been rebuilt at the same time.

The masterpiece of the building is the canopied tomb inserted in the south wall of the nave. Beneath a pointed arch, the head of which is filled with " decorated " tracery, lies the recumbent figure of a warrior in quilted armour, his head and shoulders being defended by a *camail* of chain mail ; a smaller figure, much mutilated, lies at his head. Six panels forming the front of the tomb are filled

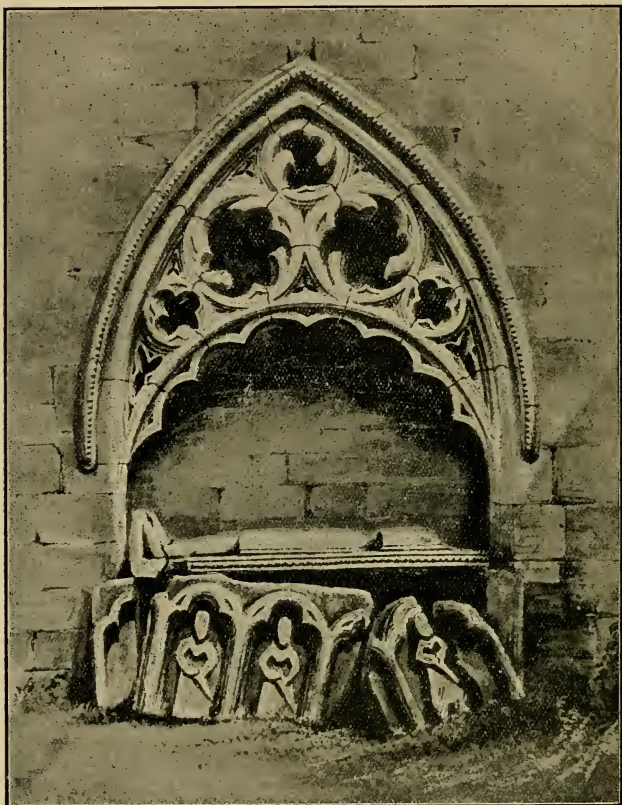
¹ *Memoir of Londonderry* (1814), p. 225.

² Costello, *Annales of Ulster*, ad ann. 1426.

³ *Inquis.*, James I, Co. Londonderry (1).

⁴ Mason, *Parochial Survey*, i, 299 *sqq.*

with figures of galloglasses also in quilted armour and *camails*. One of the figures holds a spear, the others are represented in the act of drawing their swords. This is the tomb, according to local report,



DUNGIVEN—O CATHAIN TOMB IN 1840
(From Sketch by G. du Noyer)

of Cumhaighe (Cooley) na nGall and his seven sons. In its present state it is a careful restoration from formerly scattered fragments, and difference in execution between the tomb and the canopy may suggest that two distinct monuments have been here combined.

Cumaighe na nGall, lord of Oireacht O Cathain, flourished in the last quarter of the 14th century ; he was taken prisoner by the English at Coleraine in 1376 and sent in chains to Carrickfergus. In 1385 he died, as the *Four Masters* say, in the height of his prosperity and renown.



DUNGIVEN—O CATHAIN TOMB
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

CLOCH PHADRAIG.—A conspicuous standing stone is set up on an artificial mound on the top of the hill beside the priory ; a hundred years ago it was known as *Cloch Phadraig*, St Patrick's stone. About that date Mr Sampson opened the mound and found ashes but no urn. The stone was overturned in the operation and not accurately replaced. At a smaller stone, not far distant, an urn of

earthenware with ashes and burned bones was accidentally uncovered. The urn was surrounded by white stones.¹

TOBAR PHADRAIG.—A holy well, near the standing stone, and like it dedicated to St Patrick, was formerly much frequented on Sundays from St Patrick's Day to about Michaelmas. The "round" is described as performed by prayers at the well, a large stone in the River Roe immediately below the ruin, in the old church, and finally at Cloch Phadraig.²

MAGHERA

Maghera, or in full Machaire ratha Luraigh, "the open country at St. Lurach's rath," was for a time the episcopal seat of the Bishop of the Cenéal Eoghain—namely, in the time of Bishop O Cobhthaigh, who was a native of the place. In 1247, upon a representation from the then Bishop of Rathluraigh, that when the Irish bishoprics had been delimited, the see had been fixed at Derry, a better supplied and more suitable place, and that Rathluraigh besides being so sterile that a cathedral establishment could not live there, was practically inaccessible to the clergy of the diocese on account of the mountains, woods and bogs surrounding it, Pope Innocent IV issued his commission for recalling the see to Derry, and in 1254 he confirmed the translation.³ As Derry had been plundered several times at the beginning of the 13th century, Bishop O Cobhthaigh had perhaps other motives besides a native's partiality for retiring to Maghera. It cannot, indeed, have been a wealthy place, but it was secure. Of its having a school of advanced studies there is some evidence in the book of wax tablets found near the town in the first half of the 19th century, and now preserved in the National Museum. The tablets contain some sportive scribbling by a student of logic.⁴

ST LURACH'S CHURCH.—The most important relic of antiquity now at Maghera is the carved doorway of the old church. Like that at Banagher the door had a square head without and a circular head within. The outer side of the door is elaborately carved with a representation of the crucifixion on the lintel and interlaced designs on each jamb, and on the bold square casing which frames the whole composition; the figure of our Lord is represented as extended on a cross of disproportionate width, beneath the arms of which stand the eleven apostles, Longinus with his spear, and a soldier with the

¹ Sampson, *Memoir of Co. Londonderry* (1814), p. 225. Mason's *Parochial Survey*, i, 303.

² Rev. A. Ross in *Parochial Survey*, i, 328.

³ Theiner, pp. 48, 64.

⁴ *Proceedings, R. I. A.* xxi, 315.



DUNGIVEN—FIGURES FROM THE O CATHAIN TOMB
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

sponge. Forms of angels, much decayed and indistinct, appear above the arms of the cross. The doorway and some part of the wall adjoining it are the only portion of the ancient church now standing; the remaining part of the ruin is of a comparatively modern building.

In the graveyard a stump of an ancient cross marks St Lurach's grave, which was the scene of a singular occurrence related in a solemn deposition printed in the *Journal* for 1902. Two gentlemen appeared in the graveyard one morning in 1829, borrowed a spade, and having secured themselves from disturbance by a gift of half-a-crown for drink, opened the grave. They were closing it again when the man who had got them the spade returned; he saw they had dug up a cross, about 18 in. long, with which they shortly afterwards departed. He reported the incident to the rector, an ardent collector, and the same who afterwards presented to the Royal Irish Academy the tablets already described; but no trace of the strangers could be found.

St Lurach's pedigree given in the *Rawlinson MSS.* 502 shows him to be sixth in descent from Colla Uais, and, according to the common reckoning, he would have flourished at the beginning of the 6th century of our era.

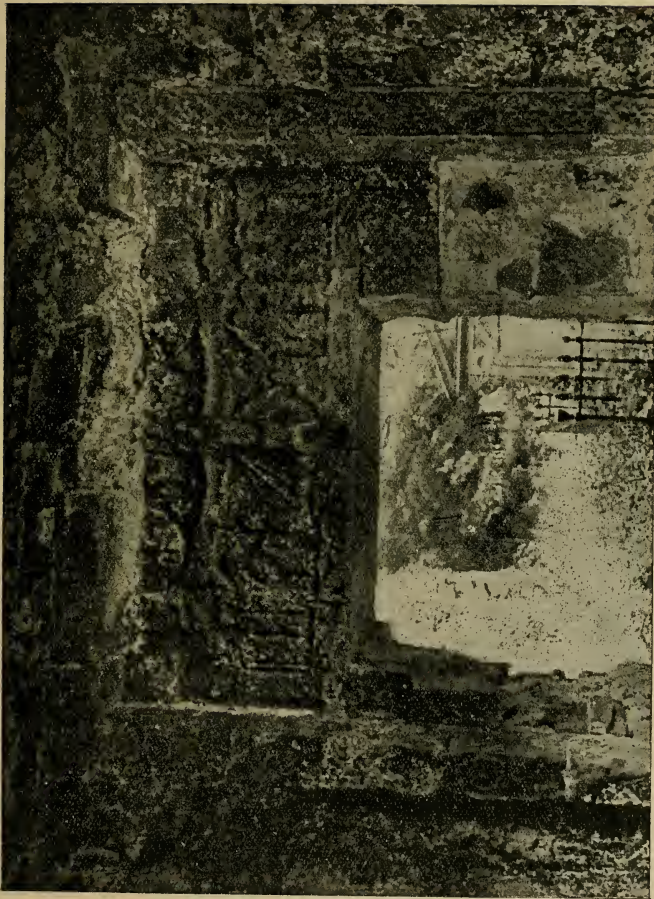
BOVEVAGH

An ancient monastery existed at Bovevagh, *Both Mheidhbhe*, the founder of which, St Aidan, was of the race of the Ciannachta, being tenth in descent from Cian, their eponymous ancestor.¹ But the patron locally venerated was St Ringan,² whose tomb, similar to that at Banagher, but in Petrie's opinion of earlier date, stands to the south of the church ruin. It is 9 ft. long, 6 ft. 6 in. wide, and nearly 7 ft. 6 in. high. At the western end there is a small hole into the interior, as there is also in the tomb at Cooley near Moville; and this seems to be part of the original construction, doubtless to permit the relics within the tomb to be seen or touched. The circumstance that no similar hole is found at Banagher may perhaps indicate that the stone there on which the figure is sculptured is a later insertion, and the hole in front of it from which the "Banagher sand" was taken would be an instance of persistent tradition in resorting to this part of the monument.

Like that at Banagher, the tomb at Bovevagh is faced with

¹ Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, 478, n. 5.

² Moran's *Archdall*, i, 161.



MAGHERA—HEAD OF DOOR
(From Photograph by H. S. Crawford)

ashlar masonry of sandstone. The roof has suffered much injury, especially on the southern side. On the north two large slabs show the original covering. Mr Champneys has described this tomb and that at Banagher in his *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

Shrine-tombs of a modified type are found in other parts of the country, but not so elaborately constructed as these of Derry and Donegal. The simplest form is that of two triangular ends between which long slabs were laid to form a sort of roof. An illustration of one, called the "Priest's Grave," at Killabuonia, Ballinaskelligs, was given in the *Journal* for 1902, p. 47.

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The "Extra Volumes" previous to the year 1890 are out of print, except "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," edited by M. Stokes, of which several complete Volumes and Parts, with numerous Illustrations, may be had. Price £3 for the complete Volumes.

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SERIES VI, VOL. V

VOL. XLV



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31 DECEMBER 1915

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1915

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND

(Formerly the Kilkenny Archaeological Association, and the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland)

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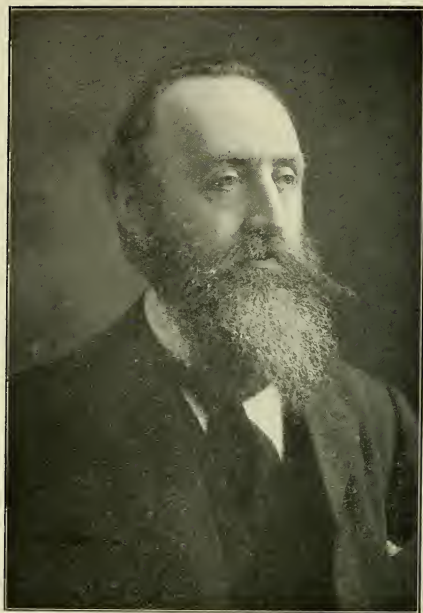
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In order to assist Fellows and Members to obtain back numbers of the *Journal*, the Council have decided to offer the fifteen volumes from 1870-1884 at the greatly reduced price of £1 for the set.

In considering applications, preference will be given to Fellows and Members who joined the Society previous to 1908.

[To face page 249]



GEORGE NOBLE, COUNT PLUNKETT

F.S.A., M.R.I.A., K.C.H.S.

President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
1912-1915

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1915



VOL. XLV PART IV

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

THE index of the *Journal* for 1914 is issued with this number which has been delayed by labour troubles in the printing trade. The index for 1915 will be issued with the next part.

By order of the Council, owing to the necessity for economy under the present circumstances, only two parts of the *Journal* will be issued during 1916. *This is a temporary arrangement only.*

The attention of members is directed to the newly published Index to the *Journal*, Vols. XXI-XL, compiled by the late GENERAL STUBBS, revised and edited by WILLIAM C. STUBBS. Price, **10s. 6d.**; bound in Cloth, **12s. 6d.**

and Lisronree, it stands beside the road in the bottom of Glenarraga, just below the great *Cathair*,² in a pleasant spot, well planted and well watered, girt on all sides, save the north, by the impressive

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 284.

² *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 283.

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THE JOURNAL
OF
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OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1915

VOL. XLV, PART IV

(VOL. V. SIXTH SERIES—VOL. XLV. CONSEC. SERIES)

PREHISTORIC REMAINS (FORTS AND DOLMENS)
IN BURREN AND ITS SOUTH WESTERN
BORDER, CO. CLARE

PART XII: NORTH WESTERN PART

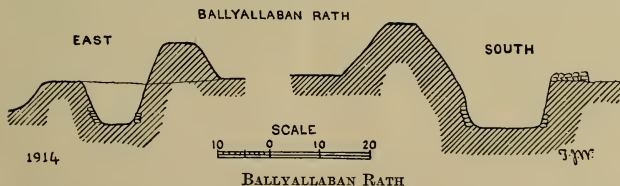
(*Continued from page 62*)

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., *Fellow*

(Submitted 26 JANUARY 1915)

BALLYALLABAN RATH (Ordnance Survey Map No. 5).

This fort, as being an earthwork, was only slightly noted by me in 1901.¹ It is one of the finest in the county, next to Bealboruma

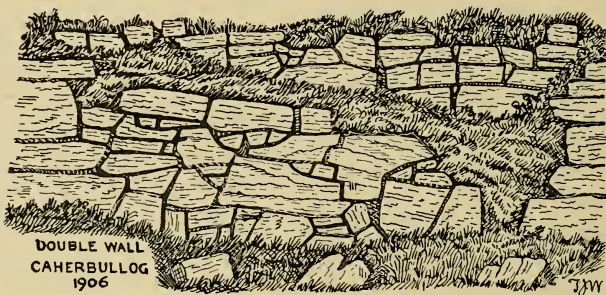


and Liscroneen; it stands beside the road in the bottom of Glenarraga, just below the great *Cathair*,² in a pleasant spot, well planted and well watered, girt on all sides, save the north, by the impressive

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 284.

² *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 283.

terraced hills of grey and dove-coloured limestone. The outer ring was a drystone wall. The fort, with its stone-faced inner mound, once closely resembled one of the two ringed "cahers" of the district; but when an enemy scaled the outer wall he was confronted by a deep fosse and swept by showers of stones from the high inner rampart. The outer defence was removed, probably when the road was made, and only the foundations, and here and there large blocks remain; it was 12 to, perhaps, 18 feet thick. Inside this is the fosse, fed by several springs, and 6 to 10 feet deep: it is 9 to 14 feet wide in the bottom. The inner ring is nearly perpendicular, so I presume that the revetment was removed in fairly recent days. It rises 8 to 9 feet over the garth, and 13 to 15 feet over the fosse, being 23 to 27 feet thick below and 6 feet on top, well preserved,



CAHERBULLOG

and 430 feet in circumference. The garth is oval, 90 feet across north and south, by 111 feet east and west. It is planted with beech and sycamore, the ring being closely overgrown with hawthorn and hazel. The gateway, with a gangway, faces east; apparently the revetment continued so as to form built gate piers, and, I presume, a lintelled entrance at the gap,¹ probably reached by a trunk or plank across the ditch, like Doon fort. There is no local name save "the Rath."

CAHERBULLOG (Ordnance Survey Map No. 5).

On revisiting the Lower *cathair* in the valley I photographed and carefully sketched and measured its rampart, which, as I noted,² is in two sections. The inner section has as careful a face as the

¹ Of course the gate was always the weak spot in such forts. The early Irish allude to this—*e.g.*, in *Book of Leinster*, p. 37 b 20: "It is a peril to be upon the fort unfortified and the shout of the person in its door that has conquered it."

² *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 15.

outer, and it is quite possible (here, as at Caherscrebeen) that the outer section was added to enlarge the garth. The northern segment has been nearly destroyed since I first saw it in 1887. These walls of more than one section are regarded by French antiquaries as the "murum duplex," noted by Caesar, in Gaulish forts.¹ Two, and even three, sections occur in the French forts, as in Irish ones. The Co. Clare examples, besides Caherbullog, are Caheridoula, Poulgorm, Carran east cliff fort, the Cashlaun Gar (?), Caherscrebeen, Ballykinvarga (3), and the nearly demolished Cathair, beside Cahermore, in Ballyallaban. It occurs in three sections in Cahernaspungane, near Hollymount, in south Co. Mayo, where the two outer sections have only outer faces, as is generally the case.² In the Aran Isles it is found in Dun Aengusa (3), Dun Eochla, Dun Eoghanacht, Dubh-Chathair, Dun Conor (3), and I think Dun Moher (Dun Farvagh). In Co. Kerry it occurs at least at Cahercarberybeg³; in Co. Limerick at Ballylin, to the south of the old crag road from Old Abbey to Lismakeery. So far I have not seen it farther south.

LIHEENEAGH.—"The small rectangular fort of good masonry" mentioned in these pages in 1901⁴ has (as I have since observed) boldly rounded corners, like Knockauns in Tullycommaun; there are no forts inside, and the north side is much injured, as a modern house lies in ruins near it. The walls are well laid slab work, and are 5 to 6 feet high to the south.

FINNAVARRA (Ordnance Survey Map No. 3).

Dr. George U. MacNamara has sent me a photograph of a very curious and problematic structure, known as "the Caves" at Finnavarra. They lie in a heap of stones, perhaps an overthrown cairn, in a wood, and consist of three short straight passages, opening in the face of a wall and roofed by an angular-headed arrangement of slabs "pitched" against each other, two and two. This is common in windows of round towers, churches, and even late castles, but, I think, is unknown in souterrains.

I suspect this to be the ruin in Burren, described in 1780.⁵ The note is so curious as to bear repetition. "From Burren⁶ in the Co. of Clare, March 5th, 1780, on Thursday last, as Mr. Davoren was

¹ As for example, Casteon-Vasson (Alpes Maritimes). See *Comptes rendus de l'association française pour l'avancement des sciences*, xxxiii, session 1904 (Dr. A. Guébbard and M. Paul Goby); "*Enceintes préhistoriques, Castelars*," *Congrès préhist. de France*, 1905, p. 48; and "*Le Murum Duplex des Gaules*, Guébbard, *Soc. Préhist. de France*, Tome iii, p. 146.

² I owe this note to Mr. Hubert T. Knox.

³ *Journal*, vol. xl, p. 124; xlii, p. 320.

⁴ Vol. xxxi, p. 14.

⁵ *Saunders' News Letter*, 11 March, 1790.

⁶ "Burren" is the village of Mortyclough near Finnavarra.

superintending some men who were digging away the foundation of an old tower, near the Abbey of St. Daragh,"¹ he discovered an opening. He cleared in seven hours a flight of 22 steps of granite² and found a square room of similar hewn stone, with 14 niches. In seven were skeletons,³ set upright, in long oaken boxes; on the south side was a slab, "in the old Irish, or Bearla Firrna, which Dr. Dames has thus translated: 'Cadh, the son of Aorth, the son of Osra, the son of Cucullen Tiegernan, the son of Bracklahm; Lunduh, Greanaulin, Farduragha, three brothers; Illan, Suilaulin, two sisters—all of the house of Burren. From learned Phoenicia they drew their spark of life which was extinguished, like the sun, in the Western ocean.'"

With either touching guilelessness or wicked satire the writer adds: "No date has yet been discovered, nor any other monument of antiquity which can enlighten this subject." Surely this was much even for a follower of Vallancey to believe! Even the five readings of the Mount Callan Ogham may be charitably regarded as perverted ingenuity, but what can we say of this other low water mark of Irish archaeology?⁴

What the "Caves" may be, unless some one built a "hermit's grot" or a "gazebo" there, in the taste of the later 18th century, I cannot venture to suggest. I can only call attention to a curious enigma.

ADDENDA.—BALLYGANNER GROUP (Ordnance Survey Map No. 9).

So difficult is it to explore this tract, and so rich is it in lesser antiquities, that after examining its forts and dolmens (in 1895 and 1897), and revisiting it (in 1898, 1900, 1902 and 1907), I still found objects worth description.⁵ I made another extensive exploration in 1911 for ancient roads and hut sites, and now give the results as a step towards completion. In that labyrinth of high walled fields and crags and bushes it were folly to claim completeness for these notes, but I believe I can have overlooked little of importance (after seven visits) in the area bounded by the roads, Ballyganner Hill, and a line through Caherkyletaan, Cahercuttine, the small house

¹ This can only be Corcomroe, the only Burren Abbey.

² If anything was really found *conglomerate*, is possibly meant; as *granite* is often confused with this rock.

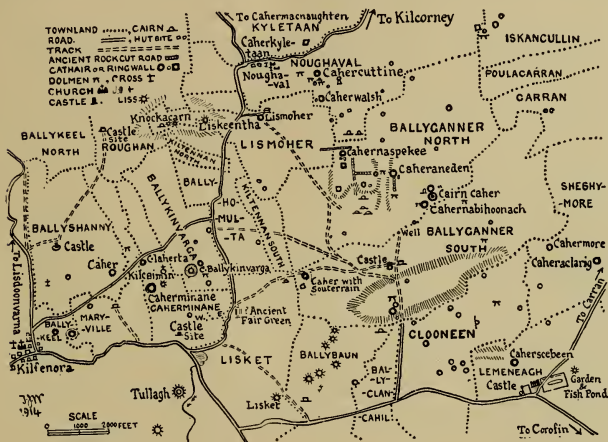
³ Note recurrence of seven hours, seven skeletons, virtually thrice seven steps, twice seven niches. I presume the newspaper is answerable for such spellings as appear.

⁴ Of course absurd and unfounded theories still find their way into newspapers. Indeed, too often, the lowest form of Archaeology gets most publicity, fortunately ephemeral.

⁵ *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 116; vol. xx, p. 287. *North Munster Archaeol. Soc.* vol. i, pp. 14-29.

ring to the east of the last to Caheraneden, Mohercloghbristy, and the dolmen in Ballyganner South, and back to the dolmen on Ballyganner Hill and the enclosures and dolmen in Sheshy and Clooneen. In all I recorded some 55 forts and bauns—6 of earth, 10 dolmens, 8 huts outside the forts, 4 souterrains, 4 rock-cut roads, 3 tumuli, some low earth mounds, and over 10 cairns, some 90 early remains in all, besides two castles and two churches.

I found nothing to add to the notes on the forts and dolmens save that Mr. O'Dea, of Ballyganner Castle, told me that the ring-wall enclosing the dolmen¹ is named Cahernabihoonach, the thieves



MAP OF THE BALLYGANNER GROUP OF ANTIQUITIES

fort (bitheamnach), and that he never heard the name Cahernaspeekee applied to the fort, so called on the maps. He says that the field called Parccauhernaspeekee (*Pairc cathrach na spice*) lies to the north-east beyond Caheraneden. Some of these fort names are very vague; in 1887 the name of Caheremon was transferred to the mortar-built ruin called Cashlaunawogga. In 1895 I was told by a herdsman that Ballykinvarga was "called Cahernaspeekee, because of its spikes," or abattis. As a rule I have rarely found any doubts about fort names in Co. Clare; usually the consensus of the old people is complete, and the doubt only introduced by a young, and there-

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxvii, pp. 119, 120; vol. xxxi, p. 290. "Ancient Forts of Ireland," fig. 13, *North Munster Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 23.

fore less authoritative, person. Dr. MacNamara and I found it equally hard to get genuine names inserted¹ and inaccurate names² altered on the maps, and sometimes the map names were got by leading questions,³ a practice we carefully avoided. "S. F." (Sir Samuel Ferguson) in 1857 gives "Caherflaherty"⁴ as the name of Ballykinvarga Cathair; this, in 1838, was the name, "Caherlaher-tagh," given to a fort, beside which the new road from Kilfenora to Noughaval has since been made. Now, the latter name seems forgotten on the ground, and it is called "Caherparkcainen." In *The Book of Distribution* Ballykinvarga is called "Caherloglin" in 1655; this last one suspects to be Caherlochlanach, the Irish equivalent of the late incorrect term "Danish Fort;" but it may be *Cathair ui Lochlain* or O'Loughlin's fort" or "Lochlan's fort."

In the case of Ballyganner, I fancy that, as the craglands got deserted and became "winterages" for cattle, and the people moved to the roadsides for convenience (especially after the great Famine), the names became useless, save to a few herdsmen, and gradually got confused, and at last forgotten. The younger herdsmen can rarely give any names, while a number known to the older men are almost impossible to locate, for those who remember them are usually too old to bring one to the spot. O'Donovan's sad lack of interest in all save the chief forts,⁵ and his neglect of the Inquisitions of Elizabeth, James and Charles I and the great Surveys, left the surveyors free to put down names sometimes but vaguely located by their informants. Numerous names well attested in the documents (such as Cahercommaun, Caherscrebeen, Caherminaun, Cahercotteen, and Caheridoula) were found by us to be extant on the ground, and often widely known, though not on the maps.

¹ I am glad to learn that Caheridoula (*Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 119; vol. xli, p. 363) is about to be marked. The local officials acted with discretion in such cases, but names and objects were sometimes struck out in Dublin as not appearing on older maps. May I point out that the *cromlech* to the south-west of Caher-cutte, that at the Caher in Ballyganner South, were put on the map without antiquarian authority, and are unwarranted. The important west group at Parknabinnia was struck out in Dublin and only inserted on strong representation. In all this inconsistency the need for antiquarian referees is very marked.

² One is generally told that they were "approved by O'Donovan and O'Curry," a method rather official than scientific, as we have no evidence to show that these scholars made any methodical researches *on the ground* to check the surveyor's notes. It recalls popular works of 1750-80 "approved by Mr. Smith."

³ I write this of my own knowledge of several cases, let one suffice—"Maryfort," near Tulla, where I have known the place from 1868, and a "sapper" by this process got the name attached to a hitherto nameless fort. I had some trouble in getting this bogus name withdrawn.

⁴ *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xli, p. 505.

⁵ In fact he does not describe a single fort of importance in north-west Clare in the *Ordnance Survey Letters*.

BALLYGANNER HUTS¹

In the field to the south of the large tumulus is a hut 19 feet long east and west, 24 feet north and south, with two cells, the western 6 feet by 5 feet, the eastern filled with the collapsed beehive roof. The west cell has walls 3 to 4 feet thick; the roof was formed of corbelled slabs, much tilted up to throw any wet out of the room; it has a small lintelled door 20 inches wide into a semi-circular room, 12 feet over all. The lintel is 5 feet by 18 inches by 10 inches.

The largest tumulus is of earth and stones 51 feet across, 6 to 8 feet high, and perfect. The other lies 159 feet to the north-east, and is 37 feet across, only 5 feet 6 inches high, the top and centre dug out.

Another hut to the south-east of Caherwalsh is 33 feet across, a fan-shaped court. There is a hut 6 feet inside, with wall 3 feet thick at the south-east corner, touching which and outside it is a circular hut with walls of equal thickness and 6 feet inside. In the field to the south of this last is a house-ring 3 feet thick and 25 feet inside, shown as a small circle on the new maps.

The ancient road near Cahernaspeekee may have been a cattle walk, leading to what appears to be a dry pond and continued beyond it. The only other ancient object I noticed on the last exploration of the townlands is a massive early wall of masonry like Caherwalsh at the O'Dea's garden, which was probably made in an early bawn.

CAHERCUTTINE.—The cairn between this fine fort and the dolmen opposite to its gate to the south² has been entirely removed and the blocks of the dolmen uprooted and overthrown since 1897. The dolmen to the south-west, marked "Cromlech" on the new maps, is a slab enclosure of two compartments, each 3 feet wide, lying north and south, the whole 7 feet 8 inches square, of unknown use, and I think late, certainly not a "Cromlech." There seem to be remains of an actual dolmen in the same field to the west-north-west of Cahercuttine. A large slab stands east and west, and other stones lie near it forming a cist, 8 feet long and 6 feet wide at its west end.

LISMOHER.—This is not the imaginary fort shown on the 1839 map near and to the east of the Noughaval road from Caherminaun. It is correctly shown on the 1899 map as to the south of the lane to

¹ By some accident a section containing notes on the tumuli and some huts at Ballyganner got omitted. I am anxious to embody all material for this important site, as I may probably rest assured of having passed by nothing of importance from Noughaval and Kyletaun to the road from Kilfenora to Corofin.

² *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 117.

Noughaval House. Part of its northern facing has been removed to widen this lane, the rest is of large well laid blocks, and is fairly complete, but rarely more than 5 feet high. The garth is level with its top and thickly grassed. The ruined doorway faces the east; its lintel is 6 feet 3 inches by 2 feet by 1 foot.

KNOCKACARN.—Nearly due west from this on a low shale ridge, called Knockacarn, in line with Lismohar, is a row of sites. The first two, in Ballyhomulta, are an earthen liss called Liskeentha (*Lis caointhe*). I was told at Noughaval, in 1908, that its name was derived from "fairy songs" which had even been heard "not long before." West from it, on top of the ridge (465 feet high), where the townland meets those of Rusheen and Kiltennan, are another liss, a smaller one in Kiltennan and the cairn which gives the ridge its name. If we extend the line, it meets in the next townland another alleged fort site, where the Castle of Roughan probably stood. The tradition of the last was rather vague as to its being a castle.¹ Beyond this, save Drimneen fort in Ballykeel and a larger ring mound in Knockavoeheen, no early remains or mediæval ruins occur for over two miles, till we reach Cahermakerrila to the north-west.

The linear arrangement of forts, not uncommon in Ireland, is well marked at Noughaval; besides the five in line from Lismohar we see the great line west-north-west and east-south-east from Caherkyletaan (past Cahercottine, Caherwalsh, a ring fort, Cahernaspeekee, a slab enclosure and souterrain, the square bawn, the ring wall and castle) to the great dolmen on Ballyganner Hill. A third line at right angles to the last, passes (through a Cathair, the square bawn, Ballykinvarga, and a levelled fort) towards the great hill fort of Doon. The cause of this linear arrangement is unknown; some explain it as originating in a long ridge, but this is certainly not the case at Ballyganner. The two main lines evidently took as their goals the high standing dolmen and Doon fort, but no such prominent object fixed the line over Knockacarn.

CAHERNASPEEKEE.—This doubtfully named stone fort² has suffered horribly since 1895 by rabbit hunters and perhaps treasure seekers. The fine slabbed terrace is entirely defaced; the slabs were set upright along the face of the wall like a veneer. The gate has been cleared out by some treasure seeker and the jambs destroyed.

¹ However, as there seems to have been one in the townland, I incline to accept the local statement.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119. See above. It was suggested that this is a (very bad) corruption of *Cathair an easpuig* from some Bishop of Kilfenora, being near that cathedral. It is true that equally bad corruptions are not unknown—Lockwood for Lughid, Belvoir for Ballywire, Ballyvalley for Baile Ui Mhothla, and in the Co. Limerick, Mount Sion for Knockatsidhean! In this case, however, it is impossible to believe the phonetic 'n *espuig* to have become *naspeekee*.

The lintel lies across it and is intact, but is only 4 feet 6 inches long, so the ope was probably very narrow, hardly 3 feet wide ;¹ the gate faced the south. Only a portion of the rampart to the south-west is still 6 feet high, as most of the ring was on my first visit. The masonry is good, but open jointed, and I think far later than the finely fitted work at Cahercuttine, Caheraneden, Caherminaun and Ballykinvarga. Between this fort and the bawn to the south is a long grassy depression artificially cleared, and shaped, perhaps, the *faitche* or green. The early laws² (*Book of Aicill*) provide for the upkeep of such "greens." To the west is a house site of large slabs set on edge ; it is about 21 feet across, east and west, by 18 feet wide. The north wall is double, and in the north-east corner is a small souterrain under a large slab. The whole resembles the site in Knockauns fort near Tullycommaun. The baun is now quite decayed and overgrown.

There are three cairns or mounds of earth and stone slabs ; two to the north of Cahernaspeekee, quite perfect ; another to the south, with remains of a small slab cist ; they vary from 5 feet to over 8 feet high. There are some regular oval green mounds, rarely 2 feet high, on the crag. One about 4 feet high has a set slab, evidently once a cist.³ There is a fine well in the valley to the south of these, half way between the Castle Cathair and Cahernabihoonach. Due north from it are the fallen dolmen, the long rock-cut road from the latter to Caheraneden and the slab hut. The group of ruins farther eastward, besides Cahernabihoonach, includes the "cairn caher" with its outer enclosure and perfect gateway⁴ and a large bawn (near a curiously split and very conspicuous rock) which I think is almost certainly the "Mohernacloughbristy" named along with Ballyganner in a deed of 1712.⁵

ROADS.—Besides the eastern one, probably from Caheraneden to the well, but not traced by me south from the fallen dolmen, there is another well marked road, with at least two side, or cross, roads at right angles to it. They were formed, like the Creevagh avenue, near Glencurraun, by removing the water-fretted upper

¹ I measured the passage as 4 feet in 1895.

² Book of Aicill, *Brehon Laws*, vol. iii, p. 253. See also Cormac's *Glossary*, *Three Ancient Glossaries* (ed. Whitley Stokes) under *Ramhat* ; *Mesca Ulad* (ed. Hennessy), p. 43.

³ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 287.

⁴ I retain the name "cairn caher" for distinction as representing the "small ring wall surrounding a sort of cairn," given in my first notes (xxvii, p. 119). The structure is described and the "cairn" found to be a small house-ring (xxxii, p. 287), and the gateway illustrated (xli, p. 343, fig. 1). The house ring from the amount of debris in which it was buried was probably a sort of tower of dry stone. See note on Dunnaglas Tower, Achill, in vol. xlv, p. 312.

⁵ *Dublin Registry of Deeds*, vol. ix, p. 285.

layer or layers of the crag. One runs nearly north and south from the direction of the great dolmen on the hill towards the cairns to the north of Cahernaspeekee and close to the east of the cairn near the bawn. When we get opposite to the pillared dolmen, a line but little to the north of Caheraneden, we see another road running to a little hut-ring close to the dolmen. I think there are traces of another road crossing this about half way between the main road and the hut parallel to the first. Yet another important road runs east and west (along the map line of the townland name, "Ballyganer North") not far to the north of Cahernaspeekee. I incline to attribute these works to the dolmen builders, who were accustomed to raise and transport large slabs, for the "Caheraneden road" runs truly along a line through the great dolmen and the fallen dolmen (Caheraneden and the northern *cathair* on the ridge, being on its axis), while the first cross-road runs due east and west towards the pillared dolmen.

The site is so rich and remarkable that I hope some other antiquary may study it as a whole to some sound conclusion. Hard and painful as is the work done on fissured crags, hidden in grass and moss, I would urge others to work it out. I give what I can, but a complete plan of a settlement occupied from the bronze age to the later 17th century with graves, residences, wells and roads should be worth obtaining, and it is possible that other roads and foundations may remain, especially to the east of the tract explored for this survey.

PILLARED DOLMEN.—I have been able to clear away the deep moss and debris and to plan this complicated monument in its entirety. The harp-shaped annexe to the north was entirely concealed in moss, bushes and debris till now.¹ There are two slab huts, possibly late, a short distance to the north of Cahernabihoonach.

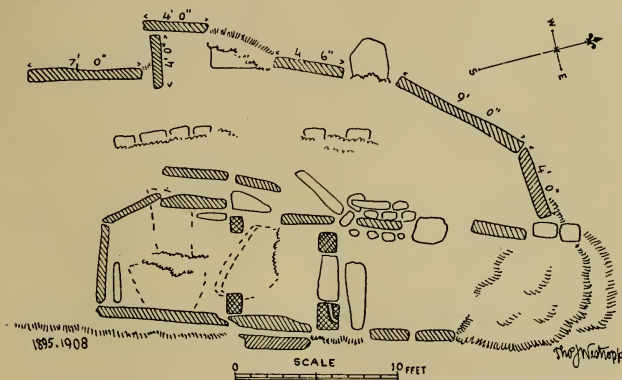
I do not attempt to date the slab enclosures. The fences round such dolmens as that at Iskancullin are probably contemporary with the monument, so, possibly, are the circular slab rings, which are probably the basements of wooden and clay huts. On the other hand, the rectangular hut sites are probably far later, and the slab fences, such as we find at Leanna, still more recent. The same may be true of the cairns. In 1681, Thomas Dineley² notes of Burren that "the particons are made of broad stones like slate turned up edgeways," and in 1752 Dr. Pococke writes of Achill, Co. Mayo, that

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 119; vol. xxx, p. 402; vol. xxxi, pp. 288-290. *R. S. A. I. Handbook*, v, p. 56. *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. iv, ser. iii, p. 542; vol. xxvi (c.), p. 461.

² *Journal*, vol. ix (1866-7), consec., p. 193.

the people "have a custom of raising heaps of stones, here called laktch (leachta), in other parts kerns (carns) to the memory of the dead."¹ The custom has not yet died out in Aran and North Connacht.

The late huts of beehive shape, with corbelled roofs (found in Aran and some in Co. Kerry, on the Blasket Sound, so late that I saw one in the course of building near Dunquin in 1904), are also a serious warning against confident dating. As a rule, however, primitive work is of far larger materials than its late descendants. Here I may warn against another error alleging old remains to be modern on insufficient authority. The "oft told tale" of the



PILLARED DOLMEN NEAR CAHERANEDEN, BALLYGANNER NORTH, CO. CLARE

British Association² is as a rule "left half told." The visitors in 1857 were informed that a supposed early hut had been built a year or so before, but the rest of the story is always garbled or suppressed by would-be jesters, for the hut was found marked as ancient in the maps of twenty years earlier, and the scoffer was proved a liar—as often happens. This shows how little any statement made by a native should be received, especially when made to a pic-nic party of strangers. Professor Macalister was told by an old man that certain huts in the Fahan Group were modern,³ but the mendacious peasant was forced to confess the contrary by other natives present. I have very rarely had cause to doubt information, save on the

¹ *Tour in Ireland* (ed. Rev. George Stokes), p. 94.

² M. Haverty's *Handbook*, republished 1859.

³ *Trans. R. I. Acad.*, xxxi (vii), p. 306.

tourist tracks,¹ or when tourists were by ; it is always easy to test local belief by finding an informant not present on the first occasion. The "educated classes" in Co. Clare, if not elsewhere, are rarely found to give any particulars of value or even of trustworthiness.

BALLYKINVARGA.—This very remarkable fort is getting widely known ; it has recently been illustrated by Dr. Guébhard in the Report of the Prehistoric Congress, in France, 1906, and by Mr. Champneys in the valuable illustrations of his work on Irish Architecture. I have given in our *Journal*, 1913, a good general view by Dr. George U. Macnamara.² So important is the structure that I am glad to be able to illustrate it further with a view of its gateway and one of the abattis and great monolith (Plate XXI). I am the more glad to do this that my illustrations in 1897 were re-drawn by some one unacquainted with archaeology for "artistic" reasons and deprived of the one quality—trustworthiness—for which I ventured to give them. This bad practice of resketching has "enriched" our pages with several false views, such as that of the crannog of Lough Bola and those of Ennis Abbey (especially the screen) in 1889 and the view of Cahercashlaun (so far as regards masonry) in 1899.³

Though apparently on a rather low site, there is a wide outlook ; one can see from its wall the Telegraph and Snaty peaks in Slieve Bernagh in the far east of Clare, Inchiquin hill, Inchovea tower, Callan, Doon fort, Tullycommaun ridge, and the Noughaval forts and carns.

A coin of Alexander, King of Scotland, has recently been found in Ballykinvarga fort ; it (like the hoard of coins of Edward II, found in the abattis, near the gateway) was probably plunder from the wars of the Bruces, in 1315, against whom Murchad O'Brien, King of Thomond, served. A coin of King John has also been found recently in the gateway of Cahermacgorman fort, near Corofin ; coins earlier than the reign of Elizabeth have rarely been found in Co. Clare.⁴

¹ Any information can be obtained by leading questions, as I once exemplified by getting Greek myths for local legends to warn an English Antiquary in search of true folk lore. Ask what the peasantry know and what names they use, never ask if a name or story exists.

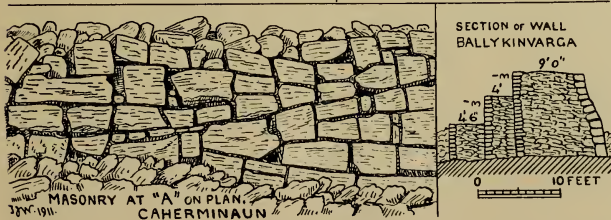
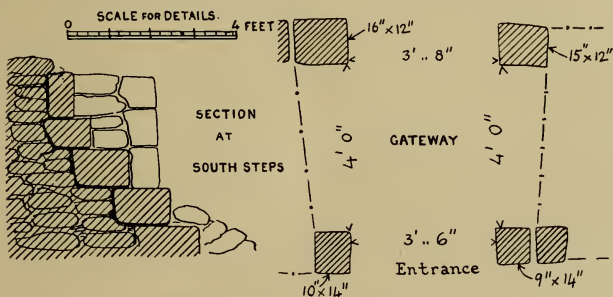
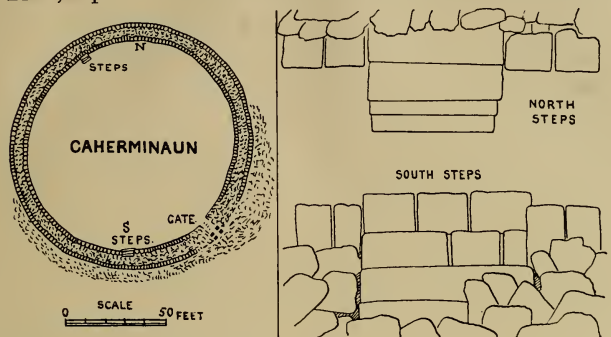
² *Journal*, vol. xxvii, pp. 121-4. *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, vol. xli (1853), p. 505. *Ordnance Survey Letters*, vol. i, p. 287. Du Noyer's *Sketches* (Library, R. S. A. I.), vol. vii. Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, p. 18. *Congrès préhistorique de France*, iii, p. 1017. *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 260. Champney's *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1909), plate v, p. 8. *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, plate vii.

I have to thank the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for leave to use the last named illustration.

³ *Ennis*, vol. xix, pp. 46, 48 : pointed arches made round, tracery altered, plan defective. Ballykinvarga, *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, p. 125. Cahercashlaun, *Ibid.*, vol. xxix, p. 377. The same is true of some redrawn views in Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. i, pp. 87-94. Lough Bola, *Journal*, vol. xii, consec., p. 11.

⁴ Need I point out an absurd misprint (*Journal*, xxviii, p. 355) : "iron coins of the Plantagenets and Tudors" ? It is, of course, "iron and coins."

I may add a late record of the place to my former notes.¹ Morogh O'Brien, nephew of Boetius Clanchy of Knockfinn, in his will, Nov.



CAHERMINAUN

N.B.—“A” has become effaced on the plan; it was to the south-south-west

16th, 1630, mentions his properties of Ballykinvarga, Carrowkeele, Cahermeene, Ballykeile, and also Cahirmeenan (all fort sites). He

¹ I have to thank Mr. J. R. B. Jennings (Member) for this extract.

leaves bequests to his cousins Gorman, Thomas, and Arthur, of Limerick, and Donogh O'Brien, and desires to be buried in Killilagh Church.

The only notes I need add are that two upright joints occur to the west of the gateway and one to the east.¹ The supposed dolmen to the south-east of the fort, beside the old hollow track from the gateway near the east wall of the field, consists of two small set slabs and two "covers;" of the last, the southern measures 9 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 6 inches the others 7 feet 5 inches by 1½ foot and 7 feet by 6 feet 6 inches. All is so pulled about that no plan is possible; the slabs probably belonged to a simple cist about 7 feet long.

In the next field to the south is the unmarked foundation of a ring wall, 87 feet over all, with an outer facing of large blocks; all the rest of the stonework has been removed.

CAHERLAHERTAGH.²—This remains as I saw it in 1895. I found in 1907 that it is locally called "Caherparkeacmeen," from a levelled fort used as a *killeen*, or child's burial ground, a short distance away. In this cemetery is a double cist of large thin slabs.³ The southern compartment has two divisions, 7 and 8 feet long, and 3 feet 6 inches wide; the northern is of the same width and 7 feet 6 inches long. They are in a low enclosure, 14 feet 7 inches square, kerbed with large blocks. The cists have been cleared out, since 1895, when they were buried in debris and the partition hidden. The place, unlike many killeens, is believed to be consecrated ground, and was probably, from its name, Kilcaimeen, dedicated to the patron of Iniscealtra, a 7th century saint, half-brother to Guaire Aidhne, King of Hy Fiahrach Aidhne, the district round Gort.

CAHERMINAUN.—The late Dr. Joyce, in *Irish Names of Places*, is mistaken as to the townland being called from "an old castle ruin,"⁴ for the townland is called from a fine ring-wall of the name although even the new maps leave the fort nameless. The fort,⁵ though much injured, is remarkable; the masonry is neither horizontal nor polygonal, but of long, sloping courses, running into wedges between the adjoining layers. I have rarely seen more than one such course in any other fort. The blocks show many signs of hammer work, such as we also find on other forts round the border of Burren, Ballykinvarga, Roughan, and Glenquin, besides Caher-macrea and Langough in eastern Co. Clare. Hammer work is

¹ Such joints seem not to occur at regular intervals. In the outer ring of Cahercommans they are at intervals of 118 feet, 171 feet and 69 feet.

² *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 125.

³ Plan given, *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvi (c.), p. 469.

⁴ *Irish Names of Places*, ser. ii (ed. 1893), p. 303.

⁵ *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 125.

alleged to exist in Dun Aengusa, but I failed to see any trace of it. It is not a mark of late origin, for numerous dolmens in Co. Clare have the top edges of their sides chipped to an even line, and one at Gortlecka is even picked inside.¹

The gateway is also unusual in having small pillars at each angle of its entrance; rarely do even two occur, and those are always at the outer side. The four measure—the outer, left 10 inches by 14 inches, right 9 inches by 14 inches; the lower ones nearly the same. They rise 3 to 4 feet above the debris, and are perhaps 6 feet high if cleared. The lintels have been thrown down, and are 4 feet 6 inches long by 30" × 18", a broken one, 3 feet 8 inches long, also remains.²

The wall is 10 feet 6 inches thick at the gate, which is 3 feet 8 inches wide between the pillars. The wall is 4 to 5 feet high at the gate, but is lost in heaps of debris; it is 8 to over 10 feet high round the south and west segments; the inner facing is nearly entire, though (as usual) of far smaller stonework than the outer face; the filling is large and carefully packed; the batter is 1 in 6 and in parts as much as 1 in 3½, a very unusual slope.

There are two flights of steps; the north-eastern was hidden in debris and coarse grass, and the southern nearly so in 1895. The latter now shows four steps over the debris, each is 10 inches wide, and is of two or three blocks in a recess 4 feet wide, and going straight up the wall. I incline to think this an older type than the "sideways flight." The other stair, instead of being in a recess, projects from the wall face; the steps are 5 to 6 inches wide and 8 to 13 inches high, 33 to 48 inches long; these flights most probably led to a terrace, but if so, this has left no trace. The rampart, when entire, may have been 14 or 15 feet high. The garth is 102 feet wide, the fort 123 feet over all, approximately circular. Only late pens remain inside.

BALLYKEEL.—Some forts occur—one on the edge of Ballykeel and Maryville, westward along the road from Caherlahertagh; another, the lowest courses of a well built ring wall, is beside the road near the "A" of Maryville on the map, it is of excellent masonry. There are two stone forts close to Kilfenora in Ballykeel South. The larger is on a knoll, well seen from the main road; it is much gapped, but of good masonry, with, I think, trace of an outer ring. These forts to the east of Kilfenora were examined for me with his usual kindness by Dr. Macnamara. That nearest to the

¹ Creevagh, Caherblonick, Clooneen, Gortlecka, Baur, Cappaghkennedy, Rannagh, Parknabinnia, Ballyganner Hill and other dolmens show this chipping.

² There was one nearly 7 feet long near it in 1895. It has perhaps been broken and part removed, or buried in the debris.

Fair Green is shown on the map; though greatly overturned, it measures 102 feet across (it is strange how often this measurement occurs both in earth forts and ring-walls). The outer facing remains to the south and west in reaches of good masonry, one block is 4 feet long; its cathair is quite featureless. The rabbit hunters of the village have overthrown the forts near them, as is so usual.

The larger one on the east border of Ballykeel is the ruin of a fine structure, and is well seen from the road to Corofin. It consists of two concentric rings, and was a well built "handsome" fort, but not very large. It is nearly all knocked down, and is in the same field as the last. There is a short reach of the facing of the inner ring about 8 feet long. The central fort is 47 paces across, the outer ring lies 10 to 12 yards outside it, and is 67 yards in diameter. It was built with blocks of unusual size—one 9 feet long, and apparently was a single stone wall, always a late feature.

There is a standing stone in BALLYKEEL which, possibly, like the stone crosses, meared the *termon* of the old monastery and cathedral of Kilfenora. The forts from Doon and Kilfenora westward call for very little note, being featureless and the majority of earth, sometimes with remains of stone facing.

LISKET is an earthen fort 135 feet across: the "platform" is 105 feet across and is flat-topped, but had a rampart rarely a foot high, giving the garth a slightly cupped appearance like one of the Coolreagh forts near Bodyke in the east of the county. The fosse is about 14 feet wide, the platform rising 5 feet above it. The fort, called "Ballybaun fort" on the map, is nearly obliterated by tillage; it was about 30 yards across (north and south). A similar liss, 35 yards across (north and south), lies east of Ballybaun House where the "R" of the parish name "Kilfenora" is marked on the maps. The herdsman of Ballybaun knew of the other forts, but said they were hardly noticeable. There is a curious single block of stone with a battlemented outline in the last described liss, 6 feet by 3 feet by 8 inches, like the side of a dolmen save for its irregular top.

CAHEREMON¹ is hardly traceable at a bend of the road north from Kilfenora. Petrie calls it "a fine remain" if he be not confusing it with Ballykinvarga. Dutton in 1808 calls it Caheromond, and adds that its walls were covered with orpine. It is said to have had two rings, but I found bare trace of the ring of small filling of one. I seem to recollect the walls as standing in 1878 and 1887, but may be mistaken.

¹ Petrie, *Military Architecture of Ireland*; Hely Dutton's *Statistical Survey*, Appendix, p. 12. "Orpine, or live long, sedum telephium, covers the walls of an old fort, called Cahirromond, near Kilfenora."



CAHERMINAUN
(Showing Converging Courses)



BALLYKINVARGA GATE

FANTA GLEBE contains a *cathair*, utilised as a feature in the Rectory garden, the former residence of the Protestant Deans of Kilfenora. It is a fairly complete ring of small stonework, 105 feet over all, and is thickly planted and quite featureless.

BALLYGANNER HILL (O. S. 9, 16).—Though far from certain that I have exhausted this most important group that the apathetic archaeology of the last century left to my exploration, I must endeavour to close these notes. In 1896 I had to reserve the dolmens for Mr. W. Borlase with other limitations, which must be my plea for merciful criticism. Only the two fine dolmens of Ballyganner Hill and Clooneen had been accurately sketched and described at that time, while the unique Ballykinvarga fort was almost neglected and quite mis-described. I recently found that the west opening of the first named dolmen had been closed by a slab (like the sixth dolmen at Parknabinnia);¹ so violently and injudiciously had it been forced open that the great stone door had snapped at the ground level. These doors seem to imply that some of the dolmens were "family vaults," and could be opened to admit later burial.² The little basins in the cover of this dolmen may imply observance of funerary offerings in later generations. In Co. Clare science came too late to explore them: probably every chamber has been violated by greedy, ignorant, unobservant treasure seekers before the dawn of the last century. Tradition alone told of finds of pottery. In our time one bronze age golden fibula of the type of the "Great Clare gold find" at Moghane (*circa* B.C. 500-700 ?) was got at the dolmen of Knockalappa in eastern Co. Clare.

The nearly levelled *cathair* near the great dolmen stands on the most commanding part of the ridge. It is of large blocks, one 6 feet 10 inches by 20 inches by 20 inches, the wall being 6 feet thick and rather coarsely built. The more southern *cathair*, near the last, on the contrary is of fine large masonry, regular blocks, set to a batter of 1 in 5 to 1 in 6. The wall is 7 feet thick and over 5 feet high. The foundation of its gateway, recently uncovered, shows that the passage faced south-east, and was 4 feet wide, without posts. The foundation block of the north jamb is 6 feet 3 inches long.

Beyond the steepest slope below to the south of the forts and to

¹ *Journal*, vol xxxi, p. 291.

² The question of secondary burials does not seem to have been worked out for Ireland. Here, above all other countries, caution is needed. If the four Maols, the murderers of St. Cellach, were actually buried in the Clochogle dolmen near Ballina, we have an example in the 7th century. A striking late case is in the *Annals of Loch Cé* (ed. W. M. Hennessy) in 1581: "Brien Caech O'Coinnegan** died, the place of sepulture he selected for himself was***at the mound of Baile an tobair."

the west of the laneway is a tumulus of earth and stones 56 feet across and 6 feet 6 inches high. It is intact save where some rabbits made a hole into it on the north side; no slabs were disclosed.

The *cathair*¹ to the west-north-west of the dolmen at the other foot of the ridge is a fine example. Its ring is 120 feet across, but is somewhat irregular. I have already described its details and the so-called "cromlech" before its gateway. It may be a grave, but again is unusual, if not unique.²

HUTS.—On the slope of the ridge, close to the west of the laneway, below the great dolmen, is a hut site; it is circular, 29 feet across, of well laid horizontal courses of blocks (like the house ring, with the souterrain, near Cahercuttine); it is now barely 3 feet high. The Co. Clare huts are practically of five types—two circular, two rectangular, the rest irregular. (Type 1) A circle of slabs set on end like the ones south from Cahernabihoonach and east from Moheraroon.³ (2) A circular wall regularly built with blocks in courses, like the one noted above; sometimes this consists of several conjoined circular cells. In some cases it had a domed or corbelled ("beehive") roof, in others, probably, a thatched or wooden one. The most perfect are at Mohernaglasha, but foundations are not uncommon, as at the Cashlaun Gar, Cahercommaun, Mohernagartan,⁴ Ballykinvarga, and others. There is a curious domed hut having a lintelled east door and external offsets on Bishop's Island, once a promontory fort.⁵ In eastern Co. Clare, where wooden huts probably superseded the stone ones, I have found the foundation of a two-celled hut at Carrahan near Spancel Hill. In Caherbullog are some very small circular cells (like those at Caherdorgan, Co. Kerry), some only 3 feet to 5 feet clear inside.⁶ As we noted, the house site at Cahercuttine has a souterrain.

Of the third type are the rectangular enclosures, or huts, of slabs set on end near Caheraneden⁷ and Cahernaspeekee and the one in Knockaun Fort;⁸ the two last have souterrains. Of the fourth type it is hard to speak; it is probably late, and approximates to the modern cottages. The fifth type is represented by the "9"

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 289.

² See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvi (c.), plate xxiv, "slab enclosing No. 33, near western Caher."

³ *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 362, and vol. xxxi, p. 289.

⁴ *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, fig. 13, No. 7.

⁵ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, ser. iii, vol. vi, p. 166. See also *North Munster Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 227; vol. iii, 38.

⁶ *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 16, for a sketch plan. Perhaps dog kennels like the *Croite na Catehragh* at Caherdorgan.

⁷ *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 119.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxv, p. 221.

shaped plan of the hut near Teeskagh and others, like those near Horse Island promontory fort.

DOLMENS.—Borlase¹ makes an amazing mistake in speaking of the Co. Clare dolmens. "Blocks of the size and symmetry of those used by the dolmen builders would nowadays be far to seek." He cites certain "intelligent farmers" as stating that "it was a matter of astonishment how such slabs were raised." In fact such slabs, of exactly the same size and regularity, abound, and at Parknabinnia, as we have noted, the blocks have been levered up and propped on small rounded boulders close to an important group of cists. I can only fancy that the "farmers" politely coincided with his expressed views, as every local person knows that such blocks could nearly always be raised near the sites of the dolmens in the north-west part of Clare.

Some apparent dolmens may have been slab huts (as long since suggested by George H. Kinahan,² but he carried his theory too far) however, I think the tapered cist, large or small, is always sepulchral. The "long grave" type is not found in western or northern Co. Clare, and is rare in the eastern half. The finest example, at Milltown, near Tulla, was long since destroyed,³ and we have only a brief description of it in the Ordnance Survey Letters. The dolmens seem nearly always to stand in the remains of a cairn, or mound, rarely rising higher than the edge of the cover.⁴ The fifth cist at Parknabinnia was, however, entirely buried in a cairn, even after 1839. Several dolmens were used for residence. Dr. George U. Macnamara remembers old women living in those of Cappagh-kennedy, and Cottine, his father, the late Dr. Macnamara, attended one of these. Gortlecka dolmen also formed part of a cabin. One of those at Parknabinnia was used by a fugitive from justice, and I saw the straw of his bed in it. The one at Slievenaglasha was used as a calf shed and fuel store, to the burning of its contents it owed its destruction.

Legend regards them everywhere as the Beds of Diarmuid and Grainne, the famous fugitive lovers, and told how the hero spread seaweed on the covers so that when Finn bit his prophetic thumb, to learn whither his wife had absconded, he supposed them to be

¹ *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 69.

² Kinahan calls them *Fosleacs*, but evidently included unmistakable dolmens (like Poulaphuca) with the slab huts.

³ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxiv. (c.), p. 113, from O.S. Letters, MSS. R.I. Acad., 14 B 24, p. 255.

⁴ The fairy mound, or *sidhe*, in early Ireland was supposed to open on the feast of *Samhain*. See *Echtra Nerai* (ed. D'Arbois de Jubainville). *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 853. Nera's adventures on entering the fairy mound are worth detailed study. MSS., T. C. D., H. 2, 6, col. 658-662, Y. B. L. *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, 1879 (P. L. A.), p. 222.

drowned.¹ A visit of a married couple to them cured sterility. In Hely Dutton's time (possibly on the same account) some sense of indecency attached, and a girl refused to guide him to those of Ballyganner in 1808, till she was assured that he was a stranger and ignorant of the local beliefs.² John Windele³ in July 1855 notes of the Mount Callan Dolmen "fruitfulness of progeny in that." I learned of an indecent rite taking place about 1902 at a dolmen for the same purpose.

The confusion between dolmens and huts is not confined to Ireland, but occurs in the Pyrenees. Rev. Sabine Baring Gould notes⁴ some that the French call "cromlechs, circles of stone supposed to be prehistoric." The local shepherds say "that precisely similar stones are planted by themselves around temporary huts of branches and turf erected by them when they have to stay in the mountains." These must be closely similar to the Burren circles of slabs. I myself have seen in the Corcaguiny peninsula, in Kerry, primitive looking beehive huts of recent date; one was being built so late as 1904 at Dunquin, and others were recently completed at Kilmalkedar. There also I saw "long graves," identical in design, but far less massive than the long dolmens (*allées couvertes*) rows of slabs set on edge, with slab covers, and buried in cairns. In Co. Limerick and Co. Clare it was courteous to bring a few stones to put on the modern cairn if you found one being made. I have also seen very primitive huts at Keel and elsewhere in Achill; while at Carna, on the north shore of Galway Bay, I have seen and photographed circular "booley huts," with dry stone walls roofed with long "scraws" of sod thrown over the top like a tablecloth, and one "dut out" in a sandhill, the roof resting on the surface with a low dry stone wall to the windward to prevent it being blown away. Nothing more primitive than these huts could well be imagined.⁵

The great lesson to be learned in Irish archaeology (if not in that of other lands) is the risk of extreme, or exclusive, views; where all is so primitive caution is most necessary, as the above facts show.

¹ *Folk Lore*, vol. xxiii, p. 91.

² *Statistical Survey*, Co. Clare, p. 318. The idea of indecency is widespread, being found even in Holland and Belgium. See Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 555; vol. iii, p. 845; it probably rose from certain superstitious observances at the monuments.

³ *Topographical MSS. R.I.A.*, vol. i, p. 292.

⁴ *Book of the Pyrenees*, p. 127.

⁵ Primitive building traditions show in the fishing charm called *Cashlan pleimínkhin*, or "Cashlaun flaineen" locally. It is a stone circle, or rather miniature ring-wall, with its gateway towards the desired wind or direction from which the fish were expected. Despite the jealous secrecy of the people I secured a good photograph of this charm. See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. vi, ser. iii, p. 527, plate xxiii.



CASHLAUN-GAR
(From the North - East)



RING WALL, TEMPLEMORE, KELS

Field surveys and excavations are the two master keys of the subject. I have attempted to supply the first for one district ; I hope that the coming of the time and the man for the second may not be much longer delayed.

SHESHY (O. S. 9).—Before turning from the Burren uplands I must note two forts to the north of Lemeneagh.

CAHERMORE has been recently nearly entirely defaced. The outer face, in 1897, was nearly entire ; now only a part to the west is 5 feet high, of fairly good slab masonry, the rest is a mere heap. The wall is 7 feet to 9 feet thick, and encloses a garth 81 feet across. There are no hut foundations, but some old looking pens and cattle enclosures adjoin the ring-wall.

CAHERACLARIG.—This fort was a mere thicket on my former visits, it is now partly cleared. It is a ring-wall, the garth 90 feet across and grassy. The wall is 4 to 5 feet high in parts, but much gapped, and is only 6 feet thick. The gateway faces the east, and has a lintel 4 feet 6 inches by 15 inches by 8 inches. There is a hut enclosure to the south of the garth. The wall itself has two faces and but little filling of small stones. The layer of slabs set with their edges out, like books on a shelf, are to the north, in the outer face.¹ The cathair stands on a rock platform over a little glen.

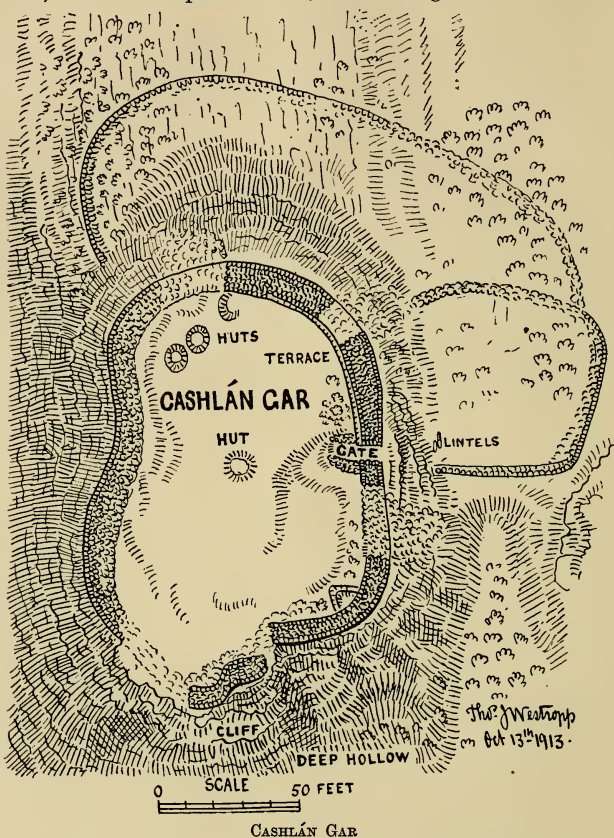
CASHLAUN-GAR (Ordnance Survey Map No. 10).

This remarkable fort² at the end of Glencurraun has been much cleared on its platform. The destruction of hazels, probably by goats, has brought to light a terrace, previously entirely concealed. It is 28 to 30 inches wide, and forms a separate section for perhaps 3 feet down, but the base of the wall seems of one piece for 6 feet 8 inches from the ground. A reach of wall 15 feet long has fallen since my former visits ; it is to the north of the east gate. More of the other walls is slipping down the slopes. I am now able to give a revised plan showing the outer enclosures, which are hard to measure, being covered with bushes. The huts are so covered with grass as to be now hardly distinguishable. The wall of the outer enclosure (or bawn) to the north and east of the rock is, as a rule, 6 feet thick, of large blocks, usually 5 to 6 feet, one 8 feet 3 inches long and 2 to 3 feet high and thick. It is 61 feet from the inner fort to the north, running to what may be an older loop to the east, which turns back to the foot of the rock in line with the south jamb

¹ I only know of this style of building elsewhere in a curious ring-wall at Carrahan in eastern Co. Clare. See *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxxii, p. 73.

² *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 152 ; vol. xxix, p. 383 ; vol. xliii, p. 254.

of the gateway, being there 63 feet out from the citadel wall. The main wall is 6 feet 2 inches thick, the terrace 2 feet 6 inches more; the whole in parts 10 feet, and at the gate 11 feet 6 inches



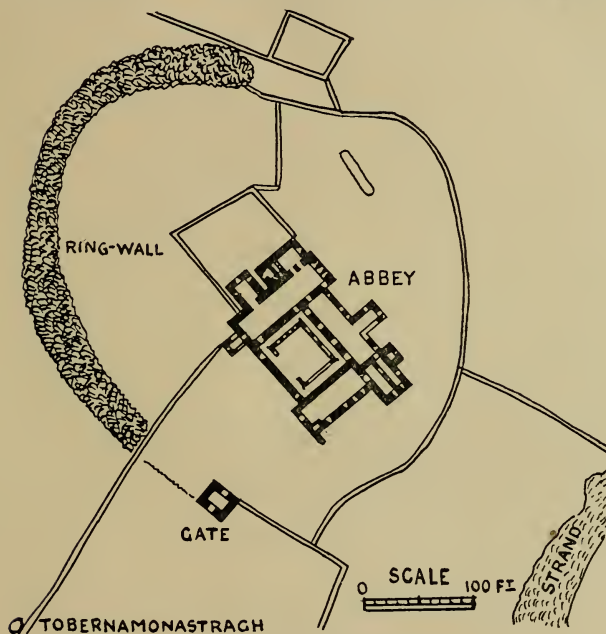
thick and 8 feet high. It is 3 feet higher than the terrace and 12 feet 6 inches high outside.

TEMPLEMORE-KELLS (Ordnance Survey Map 17).

In my former visits in 1894 and 1898 I failed to recognise in the hedge of hawthorns, brambles and modern walls round the church

anything notable or ancient. The new maps, showing a circular fence, led me to revisit it, and I am able to add a plan of another typical example of a church in a ring-wall, like Glencolumbkille.

The ruin¹ is situated in a pleasing position, among rich fields, near a lake, with a view of the flank and cliffs of the Glasgeivnagh Hill and Slievenaglasha, and Mullach, with its great rock terraces and grey dome. The approach is by an old laneway to the north-



CANONS' ISLAND ABBEY, CO. CLARE

east, and on that side the cashel is hardly traceable, being only marked by scattered bushes, small filling, and rebuilt modern walls. The ring measures 252 feet east and west, and 228 feet north and south over all; it is 8 to 10 feet thick, with filling of small field stones, and is 3 to 4 feet high. The foundation courses alone remain in parts on the inside, but outside to the north and north-west, the outer face is well preserved, in parts 5 feet high. It is of large

¹ *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, ser. iii, vol. vi, view and note, plate viii, and p. 139.

blocks 3 to 4 feet high and many 5 feet long, with good masonry above. Some large water-worn boulders, in situ, are embedded in the-wall,¹ and it is evident that before the great drainage works the fort was washed by the lake; the garth being raised some 4 feet higher than the field. To the south and east (as we noted) the wall is entirely overthrown and a thick hedge of bramble and hawthorn covers it, like the great, half demolished ring, in which the Abbey of Canons' Island in the Fergus stands.²

There are some old looking drains and embankments from the ring-wall, towards the lake, to the north-west and to the south-east, near the entrance, two holes in the field mark a souterrain. I am told that, when it was excavated long since by Col. Marcus Paterson, of Clifden, and Mr. Robert Burke Foster, of Rinroe, it was traced under the ring into the garth, but no antiquities were discovered. The field to the north-west is called "Moheranimerish" (enclosed field of contention), and legend says that two brothers, O'Briens, fought and killed each other for its possession, in the perennial land hunger of Co. Clare. A somewhat similar legend attaches to the long earthwork of Killeen, south from Corofin. The Cashel was evidently destroyed to build the modern graveyard wall, which lies from 70 to 110 feet inside it, and is roughly square. This habit of building mortared walls round graveyards has been fruitful in destruction for early remains besides destroying most of their charm. When we hear that the Rathblamaic round tower was levelled for this purpose, and see the carved blocks of the once beautiful romanesque church built into the new wall, there and at Tomfinlough, in this country, and recall the demolition of other Clare churches, Feakle, Kilnoe, Ogonnello, Moyferta, and many others, we can only regret that the power of vandalism was conferred by law on ignorant local bodies, without some restraint from some better educated source.

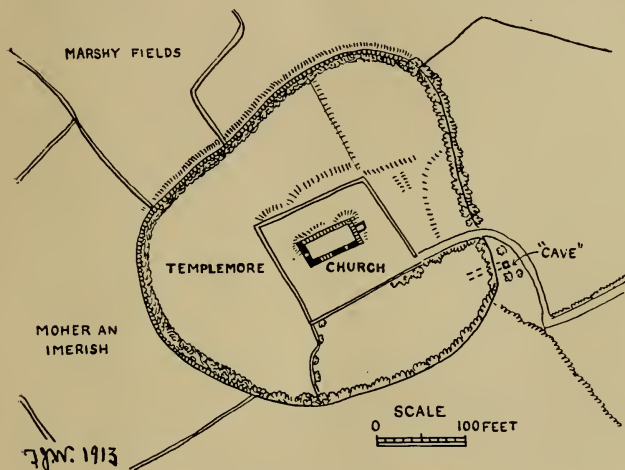
The church is locally named "Templemoore," "Moor," and "Kells." The plural form (Cealla) refers to it and St. Catherine's not far away; the latter is levelled, and its site forms an orchard

¹ This utilising of boulders when in a suitable position is characteristic of the economy of labour in the early builders reaching its zenith in certain promontory forts. Embedded boulders in ramparts are found outside of Ireland. Castal an Dui fort, northern Perthshire, embodies a great boulder in its wall (*Proc. Soc. Antiq., Scotland*, vol. xi, ser. iv, 1912-13, p. 30), and other cases of embedded boulders.

² On my visit to this plain and interesting ruin in 1886 the curved heap of stones was thickly overgrown with high bushes, so I cannot say whether any part of the ring-wall remained intact. The southern and eastern parts have been long levelled, perhaps for building the Abbey, before 1194. The Abbey gatehouse, however, seems to be on its curve, and the outline may be traced a later wall following the old line. The ring measures about 320 feet inside, or 350 feet over all; it is about 310 feet north-east and south-west, and encloses about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres (Ordnance Survey Map No. 60).

in which graves and skeletons have been found. Curious to say, Aenghus O'Daly, the bitter satirist of the Tribes of Ireland, attacks, in 1617, the people of Cealla in Thomond for "digging in the churchyard in the snow."¹ This custom, by the way, was against the Ancient Law of Ireland, which is severe upon those "digging in a graveyard and breaking bones."

The building is of large and primitive masonry at its west end, perhaps of the 8th or 9th century. It has a lintelled door there, with inclined jambs, 26 to 24 inches wide, and still 4 feet high ;



TEMPLEMORE, KELLS, CO. CLARE

the ground having been raised several feet by burials. The lintel is 6 feet 5 inches long and 2 feet thick. The church is elsewhere of poorer later masonry ; it is 38 feet 8 inches by 23 feet 7 inches inside ; the west end being 26 feet 8 inches across and the walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, the whole about 51 feet long. The north and east walls are only a few feet high. The south wall stands for 13 feet at the west, then a gap of the same length, then a reach of 18 feet long with a rude window slit for which the round head of an older window, cut in one block, has been utilised. There was a north-east buttress, now levelled. The vault of Michael Foster, Esq. (of Rinrow, who died on the 12th July, 1828, aged 42, erected by his brother, John Foster), abuts against what was once the east window.

¹ See paper by Dr. Macnamara, *Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 31.

LISMUINGA (Ordnance Survey Map No. 17).

The fort, now called Lismuinga, is a small, well built ring-wall, about 100 feet across, the eastern half greatly overthrown. It stands on a little knoll in hazel thickets, and has a smaller fort, entirely levelled, about 400 feet to the west; a field wall passes through the last. Neither is a "Liss." To the south there is a trace of a curious rectangular fort, or bawn, between the "Poulshantinna" and the road. It is oblong, and was of dry stone facing, with small filling, and entirely levelled, 120 feet across east and west, 96 feet north and south. The enclosure is divided into four by-cross walls. The owner says it is not haunted, but he has seen mysterious lights in the earth forts of Tully O'Dea near it, and he and others heard the Banshee cry before the death of his uncle.

The "Poulshantinna" is one of those large funnel-shaped hollows down to an underground stream or to the sea. The name occurs at several places in North Mayo,¹ notably Downpatrick in Tirawley, and in the North Mullet. I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere, save at Lismuinga. Similar holes in Co. Clare, such as those near Ballycarr and Newmarket-on-Fergus, at Corbally near Quin, and Kilmorane to the south of Ennis, are reputed to be "thunder holes," and caused by a bolt. The name is pronounced Poolàshantānā, not "Poulshantinna," as on maps. Fish are caught in it.

FOSSIL CORAL AT DUNMORE, &c.

It seems to me, from the number of examples of fossils, polished or otherwise, found in forts and early graves, that such were used as amulets (most being unpierced, and so not available for ornament) by primitive folk. I may give a tentative list, from Ireland and France, to lead others to record the matter:—

(1) The fossil coral, rounded and polished, found in a midden behind the wall and beside the right (west) of the entrance in Dunmore promontory fort, on Horse Island, on the Shannon Estuary in Co. Clare.

(2) A fossil echinoderm was found with a neolithic burial in Topping mound, Inver, Co. Antrim.

(3) Another echinoderm (encrinite) was found, with a sepulchral urn at Castle Hyde, Co. Cork.

(4) France.—An echinoderm (cidaris) was utilised to form part of a carving in an early "find."

(5) France.—An ammonite was found in the midden of the fort of Carnoles.²

(To be concluded)

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xlii, pp. 111, 204, 211.

² (1) *Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 409-412; vol. xxxviii, p. 226. (2) *Ibid.*, vol. i, ser. ii, p. 351. (3) Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., *Journal*, vol. xi, p. 187. (4) Le premier etape d l'art préhistorique; *Congrès internat. d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique*, Session xiv, Genève, Tome i, pp. 529, 530. (5) Soc. Fréhist. Française. Notes on Congrès II, (1907), p. 70.

THE NORMANS IN TIROWEN AND TIRCONNELL

By GODDARD H. ORPEN, M.R.I.A., *Member*

[Read at the Summer Meeting, Londonderry, 6 JULY, 1915]

WHEN Henry II was in Ireland (1171-2) the Kings of the Cenel Connell and the Cenel Owen alone showed no disposition to accept him as their over-lord. Recalled prematurely by troubles at home, Henry, we are told, had to forego his intention of incastellating Ireland and reducing the whole country to a firm peace and order. There is therefore little difficulty in crediting the statement of the *Song of Dermot* that Henry—whether in jest or in earnest—gave permission to John de Courcy to take forcible possession of Ulster “if he could conquer it.” At any rate we know that in 1177 John de Courcy did make the hazardous attempt, and that in the course of a few years he succeeded in establishing himself in a firm position in a large part of the present Counties of Down and Antrim, and in dominating that portion of the province of Ulster which lies east of the River Bann, Loch Neagh, and the Newry river.

It was not, however, until the year 1197 that any serious attempt was made by John de Courcy against Tirowen. In that year, according to Roger de Hoveden, Jordan, brother of John de Courcy, was slain by an Irishman of his household, and to avenge his death John attacked some of the petty kings of Ireland, subjugated their territory, and gave no small part of it to Duncan, son of Gilbert of Galloway, who had come to his aid.¹ This statement, while it assigns a motive for John's actions, is provokingly vague as to the actions themselves. The Irish annals, on the other hand, supply some definite facts concerning his doings in this and the following years, but as usual with them leave us to search for his motives and aims. Certainly from this date they represent him as much more aggressive than he had been for nearly twenty years. They state that in 1197 John de Courcy went to Ess Craibhe (the Salmon Leap near Coleraine), built the Castle of Cill Santain or Cill Santail (now, I think, represented by the Mote of Mount Sandel), and devastated the adjoining cantred of Keenaght (the country of O'Cahan). Moreover, the force left at the castle² went on an expedition to the

¹ *Roger de Hoveden*, vol. iv, p. 25.

² This force was under the command of “Roitsel Phitun” or “Rustel Pitun”—a name which I cannot identify. Perhaps he was an officer of Duncan of Carrick?

harbour of Derry and pillaged some of the neighbouring churches.¹ They were overtaken by Flaherty O'Muldory, King of Tirconnell (who at this date is styled also "King of the Cenel Owen"), and were defeated by him at the strand of Faughanvale.² Among the slain was the son of Ardgall O'Loughlin, whose claim to his ancestral throne John de Courcy was no doubt supporting.

During the thirty years that had elapsed since the death of Murtough O'Loughlin, King of Ireland (with opposition) in 1166, there were at least eight kings of the Cenel Owen, and all of them had died a violent death. During the whole of the same period Flaherty O'Muldory was King of the Cenel Connell. Fighting between him and the Cenel Owen, as well as among the Cenel Owen themselves, had repeatedly broken out. The main bone of contention seems to have been Inishowen and the district of Cenel Moen about Raphoe, at this time and for centuries afterwards claimed by both peoples.

In the same year (1197) Flaherty O'Muldory died, and the Kingship of the Cenel Connell was assumed by Echmarcach O'Doherty, who seems to have been lord of the districts of Cenel Enda and Ardmire immediately south of Inishowen. John de Courcy at once advanced by Toome and Ardstraw to Derry, where he remained five nights. O'Doherty attacked him, but was defeated and slain, and De Courcy carried off the cattle of Inishowen. In 1199 John de Courcy again reached Derry by way of Ardstraw and Raphoe, and remained for some time devastating the country, until he was forced to return to defend his own territory from Aedh O'Neill, who made a counter-attack by sea at Larne. Some futile forays were also made by the English of Ulster into Tirowen in the years 1200 and 1204, the last of which was led by Dermot, son of the Murtough O'Loughlin, King of Cenel Owen, who was killed in 1196.

It is indeed pretty clear that in all these expeditions into Tirowen John de Courcy was aiding, and was aided by, those of the Cenel Owen who favoured the claims of the family of Murtough O'Loughlin, the last strong King of the North of Ireland, against the O'Neills, who had only recently aspired to the succession.³ Both parties

¹ Their names were Cluain I, Enagh, and Derg-bruach, identified by O'Donovan with Clooney, Enagh and the Grange of Dirgebroe (*Inquis.*, 1609), now Gransha, all three townland names in the parish of Clondermot.

² *Ar tráigh na hUathcongala*: *Ann. Ulst.* The form is puzzling, but there seems no valid reason for rejecting O'Donovan's identification of the place with Faughanvale, as is silently done in *Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 283, in favour of Conwal in the diocese of Raphoe. Faughanvale is apparently the Notongaill (read Nocongaill, *i.e.*, *Nuacongghail* of the *Eccl. Tax.*, where Conwal appears simply as Congwal, *i.e.*, *Congghail*. Faughanvale would lie on the return march from Enagh, and the *tráigh* points to it rather than to Conwal.

³ It is noteworthy in this connexion that when John de Courcy was finally expelled in 1205 he went for protection to the Cenel Owen (*Ann. Ulst.*), and even made a covenant of amity with O'Neill (*Ann. Loch Cé*).

wished to free their country from the encroachments and domination of the Cenel Connell, but Aedh O'Neill, with clearer foresight of consequences, rejected foreign aid and preferred to rely on his countrymen alone.

John de Courcy's interference in Tirowen had no permanent effect, and the time had now come when this stubborn warrior was to lose even the lordship which he had securely won for himself in Eastern Ulster. We cannot, however, here discuss the causes of his downfall, or mention the steps by which it was accomplished, but merely note that in May, 1205, King John granted "all Ulster, as John de Courcy held it," to Hugh de Lacy and belted him earl.¹ Five years later King John in person expelled Hugh de Lacy from Ireland, and the next serious attempt against Tirowen was made, not by a feudal tenant, but by John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, who was left as justiciar when the King returned to England.

John de Gray's policy appears to have been to induce the Irish kings to accept a position analogous to that of the feudal lord of a liberty. Such an arrangement was now made with Cathal Crovderg, King of Connacht, and on the whole it worked well during Cathal's lifetime. Aedh O'Neill, now undisputed King of the Cenel Owen, and paramount among all the northern kings, had willingly assisted in the expulsion of Hugh de Lacy, but, unlike Cathal, he had avoided giving hostages to King John. Accordingly, in 1211-12 the justiciar took steps with a view to enforcing his submission. It was a formidable task, and no large force could be spared for it; so the bishop sought allies by his diplomacy. First of all by agreement with the King of Connacht he sent a body of Connachtmen under Gilbert McCostello to the borderland between Connacht and Ulster, and they built a castle at Caol-uisge, somewhere near Belleek, where the waters of Loch Erne narrow into the river. Secondly, he despatched a feudal force to Clones in the present County of Monaghan, where another castle was erected, from which a foray was made into Tirowen. An isolated mote at Clones in all probability commemorates the work. Thirdly, by large grants of land extending along the northern coast from the Glynns of Antrim to Derry he induced the Scots of Galloway to invade Tirowen by sea. Finally, either the bishop or the Scots appear to have detached O'Donnell from O'Neill, though in 1209 the northern chieftains, after severe fighting, had made peace with each other and an alliance against their enemies whether English or Irish.²

¹ In 1207 Hugh de Lacy followed John de Courcy's example in making futile forays to Tulloghogue and into Keenaght (*Ann. Ulst.*).

² See the late Latin version of the *Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii, p. 249, note, and *Four Masters*, A.D. 1208.

The forays from Caol-uisge and Clones effected nothing, and in the following year the castles themselves were destroyed. The invasion of the Scots of Galloway, however, was more serious and had some far-reaching consequences, though not those contemplated by the justiciar. According to the Irish annals, "Thomas Mac Uchtraigh and the sons of Ragnall Mac Somairligh came to Derry with seventy-seven ships, and the town was greatly injured by them. O'Donnell and they went together to Inishowen, and the country was completely destroyed by them." Now these Scottish leaders represented the two great Celtic chieftainries in the west of Scotland. The former was Thomas, Earl of Athol (in right of his wife), son of Roland, son of Uchtred, son of Fergus, all three successive lords of Galloway. Alan, Thomas's elder brother, was lord of Galloway at this time, and their uncle (or father's cousin) was Duncan, son of Gilbert, Earl of Carrick, to whom King John had already granted lands about Larne and Glenarm in Antrim.¹ The sons of Ragnall Mac Somairligh or Ranald, son of Somerled (a name which became softened down to Sorley), were Donald and Rory. They had Norse blood in their veins, for the mother of Ranald is said to have been a daughter of Olaf, Norwegian King of the Isles. They divided between them those of the Western Isles which were no longer held by the King of Norway, as well as parts of Airergaidheal (Argyle) on the mainland. Donald was the eponym of Clandonald, and from him sprang the Macdonalds (or Macdonnells) of Alban and Erin and their offshoots such as Clan Alastair.²

In 1214 there was another raid to Derry by Thomas, Earl of Athol, and Rory Mac Ranald, Lord of Bute and Arran, and they carried off the goods of the community of Derry and of the North of Ireland also from the middle of the great church of the monastery. If the despoiling of churches was one of the grounds for the expulsion of John de Courcy, the attitude of the new grantees invited to supersede him in the north was not conspicuously more reverent. But indeed the things plundered from churches were, in general at least, not sacred utensils, but ordinary goods, especially corn, stored for safety within the sanctuary.³ In the same year the Earl of Athol with the help of the English of Uladh, built a castle at Coleraine, and for this purpose they obtained stones from "the cemeteries and clochans (dry-stone buildings) and houses of the town, excepting the church alone."⁴

¹ See *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, p. 267.

² For the pedigree of the descendants of Somerled, see the *Book of Clanranald*, partly translated in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii, App. I. Also the genealogies in the *Books of Ballymote and Lecan*, transcribed *ibid.*, pp. 466-472, and *cf.*, pp. 293-5.

³ On this point see *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, pp. 195-8.

⁴ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1213; *Ann. Ulst.*, 1214.

The King's grant to Alan of Galloway included besides the Twescard, &c., the Cantreds of Keenaght and Tirkeeran to the west of the Bann,¹ and the grants to Thomas, Earl of Athol, comprised "that part of the Vill of Derry which belonged to O'Neill" (*i.e.*, the church-lands were not included), and ten knights' fees on each side of the Bann with Kilsantain and the Castle of Coleraine.² Henry III confirmed John's grants,³ and when in 1226 the Earldom of Ulster was restored to Hugh de Lacy the seisins of the Scottish nobles were expressly preserved.⁴ It does not appear, however, that any effective settlement was made at this time to the west of the Bann, and when we next get a clear account of the settlement in the Twescard the seisins of the Scottish nobles seem to have disappeared.

I cannot find any certain evidence that the Mac Donalds were given lands in Ireland at this time,⁵ but a little later in the thirteenth century considerable numbers of them entered into the service of Irish chieftains, both in Ulster and in Connacht, as *Gallóglach* (*i.e.*, "foreign soldiery"), or Gallowglasses, as the name came to be written in English. These were professional heavy-armed foot-soldiers, and they did much to increase the military power of the chiefs who employed them and to stiffen their resistance against absorption in the feudal organization. Intermarriages also took place between the families of Irish chieftains and the Clandonald, and the way was thus prepared for later immigrations which scattered over every province of Ireland.⁶

In ultimate result John de Gray's introduction of the Scots into Ireland did not make for the increase of the power of the English Crown.

In 1224 Aedh O'Neill, ever ready to assist a rebel, aided Hugh de Lacy in his endeavour to recover his earldom by force of arms, and during Aedh's lifetime no further attempt appears to have been made against Tirowen. Aedh died in 1230—"a King who gave

¹ *C. D. I.*, vol. i, nos. 427, 564.

³ *Ibid.*, nos. 879, 942.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 468, 565.

⁴ *C. D. I.*, vol. i, no. 1371.

⁵ A John, son of Alexander, was given five carucates in 'Maghalin' (Magheralin?) by King John and his seisin, together with that of Duncan of Carrick, was confirmed in 1219 (*C. D. I.*, vol. i, no. 907). He may have been a descendant of Somerled, but I cannot place him in the pedigrees with any confidence.

⁶ Thus in 1259 Aedh, son of Felim O'Connor King of Connacht, "went to Derry to espouse the daughter of Dugald Mac Sorley, and he brought home eight score young men (*Óglaoch*) with her, together with Ailin Mac Sorley"; *Ann. Loch Cé*. These were perhaps Alan and Dougall, sons of Rory, son of Ranald, son of Somerled. About the same date Donnell Og O'Donnell, who had been fostered in Scotland, appears to have married a lady of Clandonald and to have introduced *gallóglach* into his household: see *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1290. Angus Og, lord of the Isles, grandson of the Donald of 1213, is said to have married a daughter of Cumhaighe O'Cathain (and was possibly the Mac Dombnaill slain in 1318 along with Edward Bruce?) His grandson, Eoin Mor, 'the Tanist,' married Mairi Bisset, and through her his descendants succeeded to the Glynnns of Antrim.

neither pledge nor hostage to foreigners or Gael"—and then the old struggle between the O'Loughlins and O'Neills broke out again.¹ In 1238 Maurice Fitz Gerald, then justiciar, and Hugh de Lacy dethroned Donnell O'Loughlin and gave the sovereignty to the son of O'Neill (*i.e.*, presumably to Brian, son of Aedh O'Neill), and they obtained the hostages of both the Cenel Owen and the Cenel Connell.² It was probably in consideration of Maurice's services on this occasion that Hugh granted him Tirconnell, as well as two cantreds in Sligo which Hugh had recently acquired from Richard de Burgh as his share in the partition of Connacht.³ In 1245 Maurice Fitz-Gerald erected a castle at Sligo, and in ensuing years succeeded in more or less effectively subduing the adjoining cantreds. The great manor here formed passed to his son Maurice, and from his heirs to John Fitz Thomas of Offaly, and eventually to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in whose hands it was estimated at the considerable annual value of £336 6s. 8d.⁴

From Sligo Maurice Fitz Gerald repeatedly exercised his power over Tirconnell, obtaining hostages and setting up and deposing kings. It would, however, be wearisome to follow in detail all his expeditions, but it is interesting to note that as early as 1247 a descendant of Somerled was fighting for the Cenel Connell against the English. In that year Maurice advanced to Ballyshannon to punish Melaghlin O'Donnell for an attack in the previous year on the newly-erected Castle of Sligo, and aided by a skilfully planned turning movement Maurice succeeded in rushing the ford in the face of the foe. O'Donnell was defeated and killed, and amongst the slain was Mac Sombairle, King of Airer-Gaedhel.⁵ In 1248 Maurice again entered Tirconnell, expelled the king, O'Canannain, whom he had previously set up, and left the sovereignty to Goffraigh O'Donnell. In the same year the justiciar John Fitz Geoffrey entered Tirowen, and "as the power of the Foreigners was over the Gael of Erin," the Cenel Owen gave him hostages and made peace for the sake of their country.⁶ At this time the justiciar built a bridge over the Bann at Coleraine and erected a castle at Drumtarkey on the western side of the river.⁷

But O'Neill's submission did not last long. In 1253 he destroyed the Castle of Moy Cova, which the justiciar had re-erected in the

¹ It was not over until 1241, when Brian O'Neill, with the help of O'Donnell, defeated and killed Donnell O'Loughlin.

² *Ann. Loch Cé* 1238.

³ *Red Book of the Earl of Kildare*, f. v, d. and f. vi.

⁴ *Inquisition*, 1333; *Journal*, vol. xxxiii (1903), p. 61.

⁵ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1247.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1248.

⁷ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1248.

preceding year, and raided part of Ulidia.¹ At this time he is called *Ard-ri* of the North of Ireland, but he had a stubborn opponent even in the north in Goffraigh O'Donnell. Some extracts in the *Four Masters* give a dramatic picture of the mutual relations of the northern chieftains a few years later. In 1257 Goffraigh O'Donnell was sorely wounded in a fight with the Fitz Gerald's near Sligo,² and in the following year, when O'Donnell was lying on his death-bed, O'Neill took advantage of his hapless plight to demand the submission of the Cenel Connell. But though O'Donnell's body was stricken unto death his spirit was unbroken. Borne on a bier at the head of his men he defeated the Cenel Owen on the banks of the Swilly, and soon afterwards died "the death of a hero who had at all times triumphed over his enemies." O'Neill now again demanded the hostages of the Cenel Connell, and while the petty chiefs were deliberating what they should do, for they had no lord since Goffraigh's death, Donnell Og O'Donnell, youngest son of Donnell Mor, a youth of only eighteen years, returned from Scotland, where he had been fostered by the Lord of the Isles. His coming at this crisis is likened to the coming of Tuathal Teachtmhar over the sea from Alban in the penumbral period of Irish history, after the extirpation of the royal race of Erin by the servile tribes. The chieftainship was immediately conferred on Donnell Og, and he proudly rejected O'Neill's demands, answering his emissaries in the words of a Scottish proverb which breathes the very spirit of the clans, that "Every man should have his own world."

It will be readily understood that with these sentiments Donnell Og held aloof from the projected confederacy of the Gael under Brian O'Neill, which collapsed at the Battle of Down in 1260. Indeed both in the previous year and immediately after that battle Donnell Og invaded Tirowen. During a reign of twenty-three years he never, so far as appears, submitted to the English, but he repeatedly fought against the O'Neills, and in 1281 he was killed in the decisive battle of Desertcreaght by Aedh Buidhe O'Neill and Thomas de Mandeville, seneschal of the Earl of Ulster.³

Aedh Buidhe was eponymous ancestor of the Clan Aedha Buidhe (or Clannaboy), which about the middle of the next century, when expelled from Tirowen, obtained new territory in Eastern Ulster. About 1263 he married a daughter of Miles de Angulo, who through

¹ *Ibid.*, 1253.

² *Ann. Ulst.*; *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1257. The *Four Masters* state that O'Donnell received his wounds in single combat with Maurice Fitz Gerald, the justiciar, but I have already shown that this is an apocryphal story: *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 36, note.

³ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1281. For the identity of Mac Martain with Thomas de Mandeville see my paper on the 'Earldom of Ulster, Part IV.," *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 134, notes 2 and 5.

her mother was cousin of Walter de Burgh, the new Earl of Ulster, with whom Aedh Buidhe maintained relations of amity. In a former paper I have quoted an agreement between Aedh Buidhe and Earl Walter, dated 2nd October, 1269, by which, amongst other things, Aedh Buidhe acknowledged that he held his regality of the Earl.¹ It was, no doubt, in return for aid rendered to Aedh Buidhe against O'Donnell and against his rivals of the house of Brian O'Neill that Earl Walter obtained the position of overlord of Tirowen, and with the position thus established and maintained for many years may probably be connected the first effective settlement of the Normans in Tirowen.

Aedh Buidhe was killed by Mac Mahon in 1283, and now for some years Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, played the part of King-maker in Tirowen, supporting the house of Aedh Buidhe against Donnell, son of Brian O'Neill. I have mentioned the principal events in a recent paper² and need not here repeat them, but it must be borne in mind that, broadly speaking, from about 1263 to, at any rate, 1295 the Earls of Ulster controlled the Kings of Tirowen. In 1295 Donnell O'Neill, taking advantage of the quarrel between the earl and John Fitz Thomas of Offaly, slew Brian son of Aedh Buidhe, and, so far as appears, was left undisturbed in the chieftainry until the period of the invasion of Edward Bruce, whom he supported. We have no direct information of the attitude of Donnell O'Neill during these twenty years, but no hostile act is recorded, and as he was one of those summoned by the king in 1314 to the Scottish war his attitude cannot have been, even then, openly hostile. Whatever his private feelings may have been, he does not appear to have interfered with the English settlements in Keenaght and Inishowen to which we shall immediately refer. Anyone who carefully examines the Irish annals for the half-century preceding the invasion of Edward Bruce, and compares their record with that of any previous historical period, cannot fail to note that an unwonted peace and order seem to have prevailed in Tirowen. Donnell Og O'Donnell indeed in the early part of this period made some attacks on Tirowen, but the battle of Desertcreaght (1281) effectually curbed the power of the Cenel Connell. Thenceforward the Red Earl's influence was paramount. The Kings of Tirowen were his nominees. Indeed it appears that all the Kings of the northern province had agreed to hold their territories of the earl, and had bound themselves to maintain and keep in readiness for his service the nucleus of a small standing army.³ It seemed as if the *Pax Normannica* was

¹ *Journal*, vol. xliii (1913) p. 39.

² *The Earldom of Ulster*, Part IV, *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 134.

³ See *Earldom of Ulster*, Part IV, *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 141.

at last beginning to extend over the entire north of Ireland, but the insecure fabric was shaken to its foundations by the Scottish invasion, and finally fell with the fall of the house of De Burgh.

We have clear evidence that in 1296 an English settlement had already for some years been established within the borders of Tir-owen. In that year the earl accompanied King Edward in his victorious campaign against John Balliol, King of Scotland. Peace was made in August, and, presumably at about this time, a marriage was arranged between the earl's sister Egidia or Gile and James the Steward of Scotland. On October 10 the king confirmed a charter, evidently executed in Scotland a short time previously, by which the earl granted to James and Egidia and the heirs of their bodies in free-marriage and free barony his castle of Roo, the borough and demesne belonging to the said castle, and the whole lordship, services, and rents of the lands of the English enfeoffed by the earl in "le Kenauth" (Keenaght) to the said castle of Roo belonging, on the east part of the river of Roo, with the island in the river near the castle, and all the earl's land of Rennard (about Magilligan Point)¹ with all farmers and feoffees as well within as without the borough, to hold, &c., with all liberties and easements thereto belonging during the years of free-marriage and afterwards rendering the forinsec service of one knight's fee.²

It is clear that the manor was already a well-established and a valuable one. The name survives, or has been resuscitated, in Roe Park, through which the river Roe runs, near Limavady. It was in O'Cahan's territory of Ciannachta (Keenaght). Noweigheten years earlier, in 1278, Dermot O'Cahan, King of Fir na Craibhe, surrendered to the earl "all the land of Glen Oconcahil, which he held of the earl immediately, to hold to the earl in fee."³ I cannot identify the place-name, which is perhaps corrupt, but it was clearly in O'Cahan's territory.⁴ Manus O'Cahan and several others of the name were slain fighting on the side of Brian O'Neill at the battle of Down in 1260. We next hear of his son Cumhaighe or Cooley O'Cahan, King of Keenaght, who was taken prisoner by Aedh Buidhe O'Neill in 1264.⁵ Afterwards Cooley took the part of the Mandevilles in their dispute with William Fitz Warin, Seneschal of Ulster (c. 1272-3), and plundered

¹ The form Rennard points to *Rinn arda* [Magilligan]. Ard-Magilligan was the former name of the parish of Magilligan or Tamhlaght-ard. See Reeves, *Colton's Visitation*, pp. 39, 78, 84, 129.

² *C. D. I.*, vol. iv, no. 338. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 24 Ed. 1, p. 208.

³ From the MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley. *H. M. C.*, 3rd Rep., p. 231. The deed is dated apud Novam villam de Blawic (Newtownards), 6 Edw. (I), December 1.

⁴ It may be a corruption of Glen O'Concadhain (Glenconkeine).

⁵ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1264.

the lands of the latter.¹ Probably Cooey was dispossessed by the seneschal and his territory given to Dermot O'Cahan to be held of the earl as in the above agreement.² At any rate to about this period I would ascribe the acquisition by the earldom of lands in Keenaght and the formation of the Manor of Roo.

Angus Og (Mac Donald), Lord of Bute and Islay and Cantire, son of Angus Mor, son of Donald, son of Ragnald, son of Somerled, is said to have married a daughter of Cumhaighe O'Cahan,³ and, according to the Scottish tradition, being anxious to plant with settlers some portion of his lands, he accepted as dowry with his wife seven score men out of every surname under O'Cahan. Among these, it is said, were the Munroes, "so-called because they came from the innermost Roe Water in the county Derry, their names being formerly O'Millans."⁴ Whatever we may think of this origin of the name Munro, the tradition may well have been based on an actual exodus of some O'Cahan septs from the valley of the Roe. This exodus would harmonize in date, and may well have been connected, with the Red Earl's settlement in the same district. Moreover it seems to me not improbable that this Cumhaighe was the Cumhaighe na n-Gall to whom the effigy with the figures of six gallóglagh in the ruined church of Dungiven is traditionally ascribed, and not, as is generally supposed, the Cumhaighe who died in 1385,⁵ and of whom all else we know is that he was taken prisoner by the English of Coleraine in 1376.⁶ Apart from the flamboyant canopy, which in any case is later in date than the effigy, the tomb bears a close resemblance to that in the abbey church at Roscommon which is ascribed to King Felim O'Connor who died in 1265.⁷ The soubriquet *na n-Gall* was given to a person who favoured foreigners, and not to one who fought against them, and on the supposition that the thirteenth-century Cumhaighe was the Cumhaighe na n-Gall of tradition the soubriquet would be readily accounted for by his connexion with the Gall-Gaidheal of the Isles.

In the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1306 the church of Roo is valued at the exceptionally high figure of £20, and this is a good

¹ *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, no. 952 and p. 433.

² Dermot O'Cahan dux Hibernicorum de Ferncrewe was one of those whom the King asked for aid against the Scots on 22 March, 1314: Rymer's *Foedera*, p. 245.

³ *Book of Clanranald*, translated Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 401.

⁴ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Hugh Macdonald, c. 1680) quoted in Hill's *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 15.

⁵ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1385.

⁶ *Ann. Ulst.*, 1376.

⁷ In the Roscommon tomb, as in that at Dungiven, it seems clear that the effigy and sculptured slabs do not belong to one another and are not contemporary—see *Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 364).

indication of the prosperity of the parish ¹ when the earl was lord of the manor.

From the inquisition of 1333, taken after the murder of Earl William, we learn that there were at le Roo 34 carucates of land in demesne let for years at 2 marks per carucate, and 17 carucates in the hands of freeholders of the manor at £1 per carucate. These rents together with profits of water-mills and perquisites of the manorial court used to bring in to the earl the large sum of £72 per annum ; but after the murder of Earl William the whole manor lay waste and untilled on account of the war of the Irish and the absence of tenants.² There was also a small seignorial manor at Camus, and the earl's tenants held some other lands on the west side of the Bann near Coleraine, but in 1333 they were all likewise waste.

The evidence adduced for the above statements will I trust be sufficient to show that the following sweeping statement which occurs in a paper on the Sept of the O'Cathains in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* needs considerable revision :—" It is worthy of notice," it is there remarked, " that in the long interval of upwards of 350 years, which elapsed between the year 1206 and the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the English appear never once to have penetrated into Ciannachta, much less to have made a conquest of the territory."³

The castle of Roo is probably to be identified with the castle mentioned by the *Four Masters* under the year 1542 as having been taken by Mac Quillin and the English. It is there called O'Cahan's Castle—i.e., *Leim an mhadaidh* (Limavady).⁴ It is again mentioned as besieged by O'Donnell in 1592 when it is described as " situated on the margin of the river called Roa," and as " a strong impregnable castle and mansion-seat (*dún aras*) of O'Cahan."⁵ The exact site is known, though no remains of masonry are visible. The castle stood on a high projecting cliff on the right bank of the Roe, not far from the " Dog's Leap," which gave its name to the castle and Old Town of Limavady. On the top of the cliff there is a level platform, nearly circular, with a diameter of about twenty paces. From the greater part of the circuit the sides descend precipitously towards the river, while the platform is cut off from the rest of the high river-bank by a deep and wide fosse. Here no doubt stood " the

¹ At this time the parish was called Roo and seems to have included the parishes of Drumachose, Tamlaght-Finlagan, Balteagh and Aghanloo. See Reeves' *Colton's Visitation*, p. 132.

² *Journal*, vol. xlv, The Earldom of Ulster, Part IV., p. 127.

³ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 8.

⁴ *Four Masters*, vol. v, p. 1473.

⁵ *Four Masters*, vol. vi, p. 1931.

old castle of O'Cane, with drawbridge and moat and circular tower, with guns in double tier," as it is described in a "Survey of the Londoners' Plantation" made in 1622.¹ It was what is called a promontory castle, and there can be little doubt that it was originally constructed by the Red Earl. On the high bank behind and to the south may be traced rectangular bailey-enclosures, though these have evidently been mutilated by quarrying.²

But besides these manors in Keenaght the earl held a still more distant manor in Inishowen. This peninsula between Loch Swilly and Loch Foyle had long been debatable land between the Cenel Owen and the Cenel Connell, and we have seen how often it had been raided both by Normans and by Scottish Gaels, but the first clear indication we have of an actual settlement by the English in Inishowen is in 1305, when "the New Castle of Inishowen," called at the time by the English the castle of Northburgh was erected by the Red Earl.³ The castle stood on a rock which rises at the entrance of Loch Foyle, just opposite to Magilligan Point. As that point was, as we have seen, apparently included in the manor of Roo, the earl controlled both sides of the entrance of the Loch. The keep, of which the basement and part of the upper walls remain, is a massive rectangular structure, 51 feet by 45 feet, with walls 12 feet thick at the ground level. It presumably dates from the earl's time.

In the thickness of one of the walls was a well. A rectangular pier rises in the centre of the basement, but there is no indication that it carried a vault. It may have been a later addition constructed in the days of artillery to strengthen the beams which, no doubt, supported the first floor. The keep projects from the land-side of an oblong courtyard about 280 feet by 100 feet. At the entrance to the courtyard are two polygonal towers of no great strength.

It would seem that the earl obtained the land on which the castle was built from Godfrey Mac Loughlin, who was Bishop of

¹ *Cal. S. P. I.*, James I, 1622, p. 370, quoted more fully in Mr. E. M. F.-G. Boyle's *Records of the Town of Limavady* (1912). This book gives much accurate information as to the later history of the district.

² There is record for this quarrying: Sir George Carew in 1611 states that Sir Thomas Phillips, the grantee of Limavady, "hath raised stone out of the ditch adjoining the old castle [of Limavady], being a very hard rock, whereby he intends to make some good work for the defence of the country": *Carew MSS.*, quoted by Mr. Boyle.

³ *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1305. According to O'Donovan it was still called by the Irish in his day *Caislean nuadh*. In Docwra's Narration (1614) it is called Greene Castle: *Celtic Miscellany*, pp. 240, 257. When James I granted it with the rest of O'Doherty's country to Sir Arthur Chichester it appears as "castrum de Greencastle alias Newcastle": *Inquis. Lagenie (Donegal)*, 11 Jac. 1. It must be distinguished from the Castrum Viride, or le Greencastell in Co. Down (see *Annals* in Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii, pp. 345, 283), with which it has been confused even by O'Donovan: *Four Masters*, vol. iii, p. 481, note.

Derry from 1297 to 1315. In my paper on the "Earldom of Ulster, Part IV," I have referred to a grant apparently made some years prior to 1310, by that bishop to Earl Richard of "the City of Derry, two villates in Bothmean in Inchetun (probably the parish of Inch), and eight carucates in Moybyle (*Magh bile* or Merville, the parish in which the castle is situated), and Fahun murra (Fahan), and the advowson of a moiety of the church of Inchetun."¹ About the same time the earl also obtained a grant from Henry Mac an Crosain, Bishop of Raphoe, of three villates in Derecolmkelle (Derry), and Loghlappan (now Port Lough on the southern boundary of Inishowen).²

That the earl had obtained considerable rights in this district is manifest from the inquisition of 1333, when it was found that in the Manor of Northburgh there were, besides the castle, "divers lands and tenements in the hands of Irishmen who hold at the will of the lord, and in the earl's time used to pay £60 per annum." This was a large, if somewhat precarious, amount, and with the receipts from the Manor of le Roo formed nearly two-thirds of the earl's income from the whole "County of Coleraine," *i.e.*, the district along the northern coast from Loch Swilly to the Glynn of Antrim.

In October, 1315, in view of the Scottish invasion, the King's victuallers were ordered to deliver supplies to Thomas de Stanes for the garrison of Northburgh Castle. The supplies, however, did not reach their destination,³ and early in 1316 the castle was taken by the Scots.⁴ It came again into the earl's hands after the defeat and death of Edward Bruce in 1318.

In 1327, soon after the death of Earl Richard, Bishop Michael Mac Loughlin, appealing to Pope John XXII, complained that the earl, "supported by the favour of the temporal power," had constrained the former bishop, Godfrey Mac Loughlin, to consent "with his lips but not from his heart (*verbaliter et non cordialiter*)" to an agreement, by virtue of which the earl and his heirs for a

¹ An inquiry as to this grant, which was made *tempore* Edw. I, was ordered on 8 Feb. 1310: *Ir. Pat. Roll*, 3 & 4 Edw. II, p. 18 (128). On 26 June 1297 the royal assent was given to Godfrey's election (*C. D. I.*, vol. iv, no. 417), which had proceeded regularly after licence obtained from the King: *ib.*, nos. 371, 401, 405. Indeed from about 1285 the Crown asserted its rights in the matters of the temporalities of the see of Derry and in the election of its bishops: *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 9, 251, and vol. iv, no. 175, &c.

² On 16 December 1310 the earl obtained pardon for acquiring the above lands without licence from the King, and (on the same date) obtained licence for the alienation in mortmain of 60 acres of land "in Northburgh in Incheon" to Thomas de Stanes, parson of the church of St. Mary, Northburgh, and his successors: *Cal. Pat. Roll*, 4 Edw. II, pp. 292, 293.

³ *Historical and Municipal Documents, Ireland*, pp. 335, 341.

⁴ *Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, vol. ii, p. 349.

small annual rent had held for twenty years a certain part of the City of Derry and the temporal jurisdiction there, and certain advowsons and divers tenements and rights which belonged to the Church of Derry and the episcopal *mensa*; and the bishop prayed that the earl's heirs might be ordered to make restitution.¹ The Pope directed the Archbishop of Armagh to make an enquiry, but we do not know the result. Anyhow the new earl did not give up the castle and lands of Northburgh.

In 1332 Walter de Burgh, son of Sir William "the Grey," was imprisoned in the castle by order of Earl William and "put on diet,"² that is to say, starved slowly to death. This act, barbarous as it may seem in our eyes, appears to have been the result of a judicial sentence. It supplied, however, the motive for the murder of Earl William in the ensuing year,³ and in the disturbances that followed this event the lands of Northburgh, like those of le Roo, seem to have been lost to the earldom.

About the beginning of the 15th century the O'Dohertys made good their claim to Inishowen,⁴ and for many years paid rent either to O'Donnell or to O'Neill, according as one or other of those chieftains were for the time being uppermost, until in 1512-14 O'Neill was forced by O'Donnell to renounce his claim.⁵ Finally, in 1555, the military career of the castle came to an inglorious end in a squalid quarrel between the O'Donnells themselves. In that year Calvagh O'Donnell, who was fighting against his father Manus O'Donnell, Chief of Tirconnell, brought some forces from Scotland with a gun, strangely called *Gonna Cam* or "the Crooked Gun," which nevertheless hit straight enough to break the New Castle of Inishowen.⁶

¹ Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 237; Epistle John ii, no. 468; and *Papal Letters* (Bliss), vol. ii, p. 256.

² *Ann Loch Cé*, 1332.

³ See Part I, *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 46.

⁴ *Ann Loch Cé*, 1413.

⁵ *Four Masters*, vol. v, pp. 1317, 1329. O'Neill's claim was, however, revived in 1543-7, when it was submitted to the arbitration of the Lord Deputy and Privy Council: *Cal. Carew MSS.*, pp. 205-214.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1541. By the same *gonna cam* the castle of Enagh was also broken.

RATH BRENAINN

By H. T. KNOX, *Fellow*.

[Submitted 6 JULY 1915]

THIS work is on the crest of a high hill 2 miles west of the town of Roscommon, in the townland of Rathbrennan. The principal dimensions are given in the accompanying plans and sections. The ramparts are all about 9 feet wide and 3 feet high; that of the western rath is 4 feet high, except some parts which have been worn down.

The ditch of the eastern rath and the ditch between the raths, where the ditches are not ruined, are 18 feet wide at the bottom and about 24 feet wide at the garth level. That of the western rath is 12 feet wide at the bottom and 18 feet wide at the garth level. The ditch of the bailey is 6 feet wide and 2 feet deep at the field level. The garth falls away about 3 feet towards D. The raths, the bailey, and the bailey rampart are so overgrown by ferns that they could not be examined closely, but no very important feature can be concealed.

The outer ramparts of the raths have been removed within the bailey and for some distance outside it from F to B. From the junction of these ramparts on the north-eastern side a traverse like a low gangway extends to the western rath. The base is 18 feet wide. The top is 3 feet above the bottom of the ditch of the western ring and 6 feet above that of the eastern ring. Probably there is no similar traverse on the corresponding southern junction, but this is not quite certain as a note was not made at the time, and the place is much obscured by shrubs.

The mound at G, the Fert on which St. Patrick and Caeilte and the King of Connacht sat (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, Translation of *Colloquy*, p. 131), is 6 feet from the rampart. Owing to erosion and interference it is not quite a perfect circle 24 feet in diameter. The top, 6 feet in diameter, is slightly hollowed in the middle. The position near the bank may have some significance, or may be due to some reason at which I cannot guess. We find sepulchral mounds in similar position in several rings, at Rathra (*Journal*, 1911, p. 211), at Carnabreckna near Roscommon, and at Tara. The subject is discussed at greater length in a paper on Carnfree and Carnabreckna,

which has recently appeared in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Association*.

In the great enclosure of Emain Macha, the Navan Fort near Armagh, a mound 15 feet high is close to the rampart ; traces remain of a second mound. The former mound may have been a citadel. Therefore we cannot rely on them as an instance of two sepulchral mounds within a rath, but considering the clear instances mentioned, the probability that they were sepulchral is not slight (*Revue celtique*, xvi, p. 1). The Dumhas near the rampart or wall in the northern part of Cathair Cro-Fhinn at Tara should be sepulchral, as they are called Dumhas. A small mound is on the boss of the ring at Dumha Brosna, not quite central, but practically so.

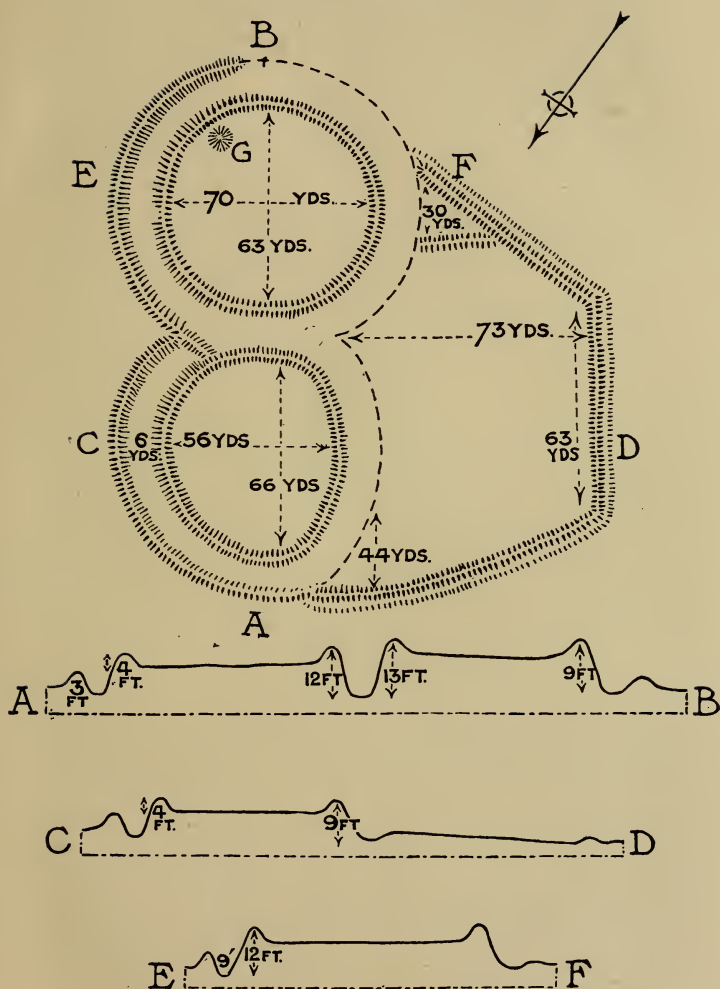
My colleague has made observations on this work which I now give as nearly as possible in his own words. The changes are only what are needed owing to their having been made in letters.

"Rathbrennan, save as regards the included mound, is not a very typical or prominent instance of conversion from sepulchral to residential use. The two rings are not quite of the same character. The eastern work is practically a circle : its rampart is easier in slope on the inside, and not so high as that of the western work. The latter is irregular in shape and approximately triangular, and its rampart is higher and steeper. It approximates to a Norman work in shape and otherwise. The other ring approximates to a sepulchral work. Note that the inner or garth ramparts are steeper on the outside than on the inside, perhaps showing late adaptation. This is more noticeable in the eastern than in the western work.

"I do not very well know what to make of the whole thing. The outer slope of the outer ramparts and the inner slope of the garth rampart have the easy line of the sepulchral series. These slopes do not correspond with the ditch slopes, which are as abrupt as the nature of the soil will allow. The mound in the east fort is another sepulchral point, but then we have the bailey. I would say that these were originally sepulchral rings of a pre-Celtic people, and that they were used by the Celts practically unchanged. Their proximity is another point in favour of sepulchral origin. I attribute the deep ditches and the bailey to subsequent Norman occupation.

"But there are points against this view. First, the western fort is aberrant as to shape for a sepulchral work. The eastern fort too, though more regular, is hardly a stereotyped ring. However, as regards these points, the central garth at Rathra is as aberrant as the eastern fort, and the west termination of Corker leads me to infer that, as in all other earthworks, there are occasional wide departures from regulation. This has no reference to the later work to the west of Corker (*Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1914, p. 353).

RATH BRENAINN.

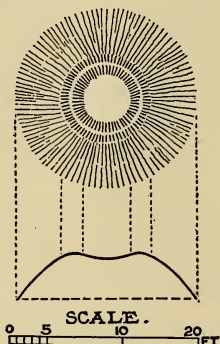


"I have yet another theory to offer. The eastern fort may have been a sepulchral ring and may have stood alone. The Celts may have used it as they found it, but the Normans might deepen its ditch and add the western fort and the bailey. On the whole the garth rampart of the western fort is higher than the rampart of the eastern fort, so this is some evidence.

"The traverse may shew that the two forts are not coeval."

Though Mr. Orpen had called my attention to the words in O'Grady's translation of the *Acallamh na Senorach*, "a sodded mound that dominated the rath's outer limit," a long time ago, my colleague had no opportunity of visiting the neighbourhood until last autumn. Then, in suggesting to him the advisability of examining the rath, I could communicate only the above words,

MOUND IN RATHBRENAINN.



and add that the Ordnance Map marks Rathbrennan as a double rath, like the Teach Chormaic and the Forradh at Tara. It was only when his field sketch and description came that I searched for further references.

His plans and descriptions and the observations which are quoted above have an especial interest because they are founded upon his own study of earthworks during some years, and are wholly free from any bias which might have arisen from a study of the legendary and historical references quoted below. And these have a special interest again in their bearing on those views and explanations.

The translation led us to expect a mound like a high mote. We find instead a low mound such as is in Rathra, not very much higher

than the rampart. The mounds in Corraun and Rathscrig are of the same class, except that the one in Corraun is larger and higher (*Journal*, 1914, pp. 16, 19). Mr. Orpen suggests that "On the grassy grave-mound on the edge of the rath" is a better rendering of the text *ar an firt fóibaig ós or na rátha* and I have adopted this emendation.

The account of St. Patrick's visit to Rath Brenainn is given in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, translation, pp. 131, 132, and on p. 121 of the text. It is necessary to give in abstract, or by quotation almost the whole, as follows:—

St. Patrick and his company came from Munster into Connacht, where the King of Connacht, Muiredach son of Finnachta, met him and accompanied him in his journey northwards. Leaving on their right hand Ros na Fingaile, now called Roscomain, they went "to Rath Ghlais, which now men style Rath Brenainn. There the King of Connacht's tent was pitched. Patrick and Caeilte came and sat on the grassy grave-mound on the edge of the rath; the King of Connacht with all his company joins them, and they sit down by Patrick and by Caeilte."

Caeilte tells Patrick how the rath got its name. Glas Mac Dreacain, King of Lochlann, came with a large army to win "Ireland's royal power." Cormac O Cuinn the High King summoned the Fianna under Finn and all the forces of Ireland. The great battle was fought here, in which Finn killed Glas. "Three of us, of the Fianna, entered into the tent in which Glas Mac Dreacain was; there we found nine columns of gold, the smallest one of which was in bulk equal to a three-ox yoke. These we hid in this red moor northward of the rath, and here Glas Mac Dreacain was laid under ground. From him therefore this rath is called Raith Ghlais."

No bog is at hand. The word used is "moin." In late autumn, winter or spring the dead ferns, which cover the tract in which the forts stand, would make the land look like moor.

Annals of Tighernach—A.D. 600—"Death of Brenann, son of Cairpri, son of Féchéne, the King of Ui Maine, from whom is named Raith Brenainn in Magh Ai." The *Chronicon Scotorum* uses almost identical words under A.D. 601.

Four Masters, A.D. 1143—"The Clergy of Connacht, with Muir-eadhach Ua Dubthaigh, fasted at Rath Brenainn, to get their guarantee, but it was not observed for them."

A.D. 1410—"Five hundred cows were carried off, about All Hallow-tide, by the sons of O'Conor Donn, from the people of O'Conor Roe, at Rath Brenainn."

Taking the legend first, we find that it gives information which we may take into account, though the legend cannot be treated as

history. The reference to Roscommon establishes the identity of Rath Brenainn. The rath was known to be a sepulchral monument, and was of such ancient origin that the legend makers were able to ascribe it to what seems to have been an imaginary invasion by an imaginary king. We are told that Glas was buried, but we are not told that a rath was raised, only that it therefore bears Glas's name. The natural inference seems to me to be that this is a case of a secondary interment. We may, I think, take this rath to be of great antiquity, even pre-Celtic.

We learn that the word "Fert" includes such small low barrows as we find here, and in Rathra, and in Rathscrigg near Rathcruachan. How much more it may cover I cannot say.

There may have been a King of Connacht named Muiredach, son of Finnachta, but no record of his existence is known to me. Mr. Orpen pointed out to me that the writer of the Colloquy does not suppose that there was any house in the rath, the king's tent being pitched within it.

The legend supports my colleague's view that the eastern rath was pre-Celtic, certainly pre-historic.

In absence of explanation a suspicion arises that Caeilte and his two companions hid Glas's gold in order that Finn and his Fianna, the Regular Army of Ireland, might cheat King Cormac and the Territorial Army out of their share of the plunder.

The first mention in the *Annals* does not tell why the rath took Brenann's name. My suggestion is that Brenann made the western rath as a residence attached to the sepulchral ring in imitation of the High King's official residence at Tara; and Rath Brenainn at first meant only this new rath, but in time the name Rath Ghlais was dropped and Rath Brenainn covered the whole.

At this time the northern boundary of the kingdom of the Ui Maine ran in an east to west line through Fairy Hill to the north of Roscommon. The lands between the Shannon and the Suck were occupied by the Delbhna Nuadat from Athlone northwards under the supremacy of the Ui Maine. At a later date various clans of the Sil Muiredhaigh occupied this country and a great deal more to the west of the Suck, and the Delbhna dropped out of sight. The Kings of Sil Muiredhaigh supplanted the Kings of the Ui Maine, and naturally took over their dwellings. When this occurred does not appear. The next entry indicates that King Torlogh Mór O'Conor used Rath Brenainn as a residence.

If my conjectures are correct, we may say that in the latter part of the 6th century a residential rath was attached to the sepulchral ring so that they formed but one work, as my colleague has already suggested upon independent grounds.

From other sources we know that the Kings of Connacht were deprived of this country effectually about the year 1270. After the building and occupation of Roscommon Castle and the establishment of a town, a considerable number of Anglo-Normans of various ranks settled in this country, and the Kings of Connacht would not have occupied Rath Brennainn until the castle of Roscommon and all this country were abandoned by the King of England and the settlers in the 14th century. Then the O'Conors returned, and the last entry shows that O'Connor Roe held it in 1410. Here we have a period in which the work may have been in actual possession of an Anglo-Norman, during which any occupier would be affected by the system of the Norman settler.

One point is quite certain. These two rings are a very close copy of the King of Ireland's Rath at Tara. The differences are that here the raths are divided only by the ditch, there each has a ditch and only a strong rampart divides them; there two *dumhas* are near the northern edge of the great outer ring called *Cathair Crofinn*, here one low "Fert" is in Rath Ghlais. The bailey is a later construction which may be ignored, save as a sign of Norman occupation or of Norman influence.

A question now arises. Why did two kings of high position—the King of Ireland, and, long after him, the King of the *Ui Maine*—each add a residential rath to an older rath used for ceremonial or sepulchral purposes? We know the *Forradh* to have been used for great national purposes. It is in, or nearly in, the centre of a great *cathair*. It may have been originally a grave rath, we might almost say that it probably was, as great assemblies have usually been held at such places.

The best answer we can give is that the ancient sepulchral rath was regarded with great veneration, that possession gave prestige to the king who could hold it, though he must not live in it, and that he strengthened his position and supported his title by making a residential rath in such contact as amounts to amalgamation.

Rath Ghlais, we suppose, had become something like the *Forradh*—was in fact the *Forradh* of the *Delbhna*. When the *Ui Maine* spread over their country and ousted their petty king, King Brennainn would endeavour to take his place in view of the peasantry, and to draw to himself and his successors the feelings of respect which would be due to the lord of the great monument, who by possession and by rendering due rites, would inherit the favour and protection of the spirits of the mighty dead.

In this course of conquest and settlement they followed the custom of the great royal families of Ireland, who provided incomes and position for their junior families by superseding the tribes

who though within their respective kingdoms, were held to be only very distantly related, if related at all, to the ruling clans. Thus these new Ui Maine chiefs were themselves superseded by junior branches of the great Ui Briuin tribe, whose head, O Conchubhair, was the King of the Province of Connacht. The actual working of the system has been shown in a paper entitled "The Expansion of Two Royal Clans of Connacht" in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Association*, vol. iv.

Before we became acquainted with Rath Brenainn we had to deal with a remarkable earthwork among the antiquities of Carnfree, which we called "The Altered Dumha" for want of a local name. It has been described fully in a paper entitled "Carnfree and Carnabreckna," which has appeared in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Association*. Only the general features need be mentioned. It is a close parallel to Rath Brenainn. A much later rectangular rath, which is not sepulchral, but apparently residential or ceremonial, has been amalgamated with a large dumha which had a ditch, a large rampart having a section like that of the Corker Ring, and an outer ditch. As at Rath Brenainn, there is only a ditch between the works, and their outer ditches coalesce. There is, however, an important difference. The rath and the ditch between have swept away the northern third of the dumha, and the upper part of the dumha has been removed, so that the eastern part is a flat garth with a slight rampart on the edge of the ditch, and the western part slopes upwards until it is 5 feet above the garth, which is about 5 feet above its ditch. The effect is that the lowering of the dumha has not been finished. My colleague who has seen the mound has no doubt that it is a cut down dumha.

It seems to me most improbable that the Normans meddled here. They would have used the dumha as a high mote.

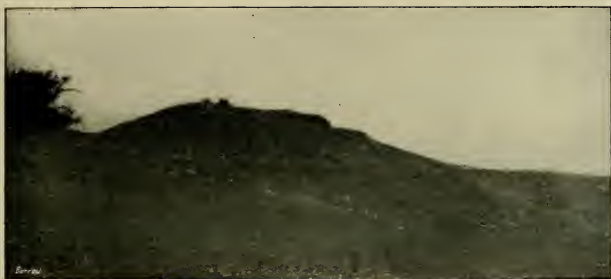
Rath Brenainn is about 10 miles south of the Altered Dumha. Both are well within the Roscommon Dumha area.

We may now try to sort our combined works in accordance with the nature of the combination.

I. Tara and Rath Brenainn.—A residential rath has been combined with an older sepulchral or ceremonial rath of practically the same character with very little modification, and that only of external features.

II. The Altered Dumha.—A residential or ceremonial rath of quite different character has been combined with a sepulchral mound which has been largely removed and materially altered to suit it.

III. Dumha Brosna.—Two sepulchral works of very different character have been combined with only slight modification of



RATH BRENAINN

external features, as in the case of Tara. The components, *dumha* and ring of this type, have been found near each other occasionally, suggesting some kind of relationship or succession.

The theories suggested in this paper are not to be taken as dogma, but as tentative explanations, useful as a start towards marshalling of facts.

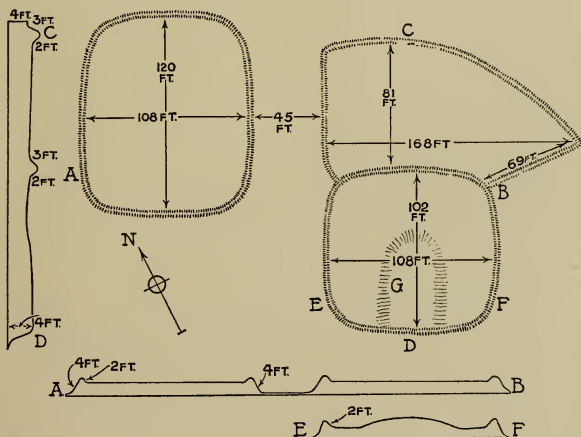
It has been suggested to me that the name *Dreacan* survives in *McCracken*, *Mac Dhreacain*, but I am not competent to judge.

ADDENDUM

EARTHWORKS NEAR RATH BRENAINN

THESE two raths are about 300 yards west-north-west of Rath Brenainn on a gentle southerly slope, making the southern part

NEAR RATH BRENAINN.



about 4 feet lower than the northern. Their banks are so slight that they cannot have been intended for defensive purposes. It is convenient to call them raths, as that word is used so vaguely that it means little more than earthwork, usually more or less round. The dimensions are shown on the plan, except the thickness of the banks, 6 feet generally; but the curved part, and the straight east

and west bank which joins the curve to the rath, are only 4 feet thick. All are made by piling. There are no traces of ditches. The western bank of the addition to north of the eastern work is 6 feet thick, except a part to the north which is only 4 feet thick. This bank is in line with that of the rath, but curves in so as to join the latter at a right angle.

The low oblong artificial mound is a peculiar feature. Can it correspond with the "Fert" in Rath Brenainn? Can it have been made for burial? In other respects it is wholly different.

The northern addition comprises an area about equal to that of the rath. A succession of such enclosures carried along the eastern and southern sides would result in an approximately parallel outer bank.

Unless there was an intention to preserve the outline, it is hard to guess why the outer bank was curved. Apparently the builders had no objection to a straight line.

These little banks might be modern, but it is hard to imagine any modern use for these earthworks. Nor is it much less difficult to assign an ancient use, unless we call them "sepulchral or ceremonial," words which can be applied to almost anything.

When we find these large raths exceptionally close together—only 45 feet between them—with a very large extension of one of them, (and so near Rath Brenainn, a work of great strength, undoubtedly residential and sepulchral) it is natural to infer some connexion between them, and that the ground plan has some meaning. Further, we may compare them with the work at Cruachan Aí called Cashel No. 4 (*Journal*, 1914, p. 29), where a D-shaped enclosure of earthen banks is separated from the main work by a narrow passage, and other small earthen enclosures adjoin on the south side of the main work. There are striking points of resemblance in these works as well as marked differences.

Though I cannot suggest solutions, yet I cannot help feeling that these three works ought to be considered together, with a hope that knowledge may be accumulated until at last some satisfactory explanation may appear.

As Cashel No. 4 shows a road leading westward from the enclosures, it is convenient to remark here that my colleague has lately come to think that the system of roads in connexion with "the Linked Forts" was made for great processions and religious ceremonies, and that those forts are really tombs. His reasons cannot be set out at length in this place. It must suffice for me to say here that they need careful consideration. He allows my cattle track theory to be well in the running with his theory.

He has lately found in Creeve near Oran some undoubtedly

sepulchral works, one of which shows a road or sunken way leading into the wide ditch of a large ring. This offers strong support to his view. The whole group has yet to be planned. And all the evidence on the subject has to be brought together.

In one of the books which I searched for evidence regarding Dumha Brosna, probably Greenwell's *British Barrows*, a bowl or disk barrow is described as having a ditch around it, which on excavation, showed marks of having been used as a path.

H. T. KNOX.

19th October, 1915.

[The illustrations of this paper have been presented by the Author].

SOME EARLY ORNAMENTED LEATHERWORK

By J. J. BUCKLEY, *Member*

[Read 23 FEBRUARY 1915]

THE ornamentation of leatherwork,¹ classed in our day as one of the minor arts, held a relatively important position in the domain of applied art in the early Christian and mediaeval periods in Ireland. There are, it is true, very few examples surviving from those early times, a fact due, of course, to the perishable nature of the material. These survivors are, however, of such a character as to indicate to us that even when dealing with a substance so commonplace as leather, the art craftsmen of those days did not disdain to expend on it all the resources of their artistic skill. The beauty of the art products of those old Irish craftsmen in metal and stone, and on vellum, is now so well known and so widely recognised that there is not any necessity to urge its claims in a paper for the Royal Society of Antiquaries. But in the matter of leatherwork no attempt has been made to deal collectively with the objects which remain to us, and it will, perhaps, serve some useful purpose to group together in the *Journal* for convenient reference figures and descriptions of as many as possible of the known specimens.

SATCHEL IN TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

(PLATES XXIV, XXV)

The satchel associated with the *Book of Armagh*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is the most elaborately ornamented of the leather objects which have survived. It is formed of a single oblong piece of leather, folded and stitched so as to form a wallet-shaped receptacle about 12 inches high, nearly 13 inches wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The outer surface is entirely covered with impressed ornament, consisting of bands and medallions of interlaced ribbonwork, medallions of single and interlocked double and triple grotesque animal forms, and two bands of debased spiral ornament. Petrie refers to one of these bands as "triplicate pear-shaped ornament"; the other he describes as "the cross formed

¹ The technique of the ornamentation applied to the objects described in this paper consists of—(1) simple tooling, as in modern bookbinding, or (2) softening and impressing (*cuir bouilli*), or (3) incising with a sharp instrument.



SACHEL OF THE BOOK OF ARMAGH
(Front)



SACHEL OF THE BOOK OF ARMAGH
(Back)



SACHEL OF THE BOOK OF ARMAGH
(Top, Bottom, and Sides)

between four segments of circles within a circle.¹ One medallion contains a curious device in the form of a cross, the details of which are suggestive of Gothic letters used as Roman numerals. Were these intended as a date, or as an index number for the contents of the satchel?

The *Book of Armagh*, a manuscript containing copies of the Gospels and other matter, is attributed to Ferdomnach, who died in the early part of the ninth century.² The satchel, which is probably a good deal later, was obviously not made for the manuscript, the leaves of this measuring only $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Besides, the book is thicker than the receptacle.³

SACHEL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, DUBLIN

(PLATE XXVI)

The satchel associated with the shrine called the *Breac Moedóig*, in the Irish Antiquities Division of our National Museum, like that associated with the *Book of Armagh*, is an oblong piece of leather, folded and stitched. The flap is missing. The ornament, whilst not so elaborate as that of the Trinity College satchel, is more elegant in design, consisting of two different schemes of bold interlacing on the back and front, and on the ends two bands of flowing tendrils. The design on the front covers only about two-thirds of the space, the upper portion, which would have been hidden by the flap, being plain. The strap by which it was carried still remains, but it is not decorated. The height of the satchel is about 9 inches, and the width about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

As with the Trinity College satchel, there is much reason to doubt that it was originally made for the object at present associated with it. The shrine is of the *châsse* type—that is, the form is that of a house or church with a high-pitched roof; whilst the satchel, with its parallel lines, was apparently intended to receive an object of a different shape and size.⁴

SACHEL IN OXFORD

(PLATE XXVII)

In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is an old Irish missal, enclosed in a satchel, which, judging from the closeness of the

¹ *The Round Towers of Ireland*.

² Graves.

³ Facilities for making the photographs of this satchel were very kindly given by Mr Deburgh, the Assistant Librarian.

⁴ The Council of the Royal Irish Academy kindly granted permission to reproduce the photographs of this satchel.

fitting, appears to have been specially made for it. The missal is about 6 inches high and about 5 inches wide, and is very thick, consisting of 211 leaves of vellum. It fits snugly into the satchel, and although the latter shows signs of having been a good deal used, the ornament remains quite visible. This is a bold design of interlaced bands, running lozenge-wise in pairs, and having a closed ring made of a single band interlacing each of the crossings, somewhat resembling the design on the back of the satchel of the *Breac Moedóig*. The sling strap, much broken and repaired with thongs, still remains attached to it.¹

BOOKBINDING IN THE FRANCISCAN LIBRARY, DUBLIN

(PLATES XXVIII-XXX)

One of the many treasures in the Library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, is a seventeenth century vellum *Life of St Columba*, which, in all probability, first belonged to the Franciscan Convent in Donegal, and was carried to the Irish Franciscan Convent of St Antony of Padua at Louvain by Michael O'Clery, who died there in 1643. At the time of the French Revolution the collection at Louvain was broken up, some of the manuscripts being taken to Brussels, and others to the Franciscan Convent of Sant' Isidoro, Rome. The *Life of St Columba* was probably amongst the latter. At any rate it was one of a number of Irish manuscripts brought thence, in 1872, to its present resting place, by permission of the General of the Franciscan Order.

This valuable manuscript is bound in a cover of dark brown leather, tooled over the whole of the outer surface. It measures about 13 inches in height and about 9 inches in width. The front design consists of three horizontal bands of interlacing, with two intermediate strips of what may, perhaps, be described as debased fret ornament. The other side is made up of twelve squares each, enclosed with interlaced bands, and having closed rings at the angles, somewhat resembling the design on the Oxford satchel and the back of the satchel of the *Breac Moedóig*. The hinge is tooled with a very simple fret pattern.²

The design on the front, somewhat modified, was taken by the late Dr Abbot for the block used on the front cover of his valuable work, *Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells*.

¹ The authorities of the College, through the Librarian, Mr Livingstone, kindly permitted the reproduction of a photograph of this satchel.

² Father O'Reilly, the Librarian, very kindly permitted the cover to be photographed for this paper.



SACHEL OF THE BREAC MOEDÓIG



BOOK-SACHEL IN CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

BOOKBINDING IN STONYHURST COLLEGE

(PLATE XXXI)

There is in the celebrated College of Stonyhurst, Lancashire, an interesting binding on a manuscript copy of the *Gospel of St John*. It is composed of two thin boards of lime-wood $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, covered with dark crimson-stained leather. On the front is a panel divided into three compartments surrounded by a narrow border. The central compartment is occupied by a foliated ornament in good relief, bearing traces of colour. The upper and lower compartments have interlaced ornaments—the fine incised lines forming these being coloured blue or yellow. The border is formed of two fine lines arranged *en guilloche*. The other side has a plain wide border of two fillets enclosing a trellis pattern, all done in fine incised lines.

According to an inscription on the first leaf of the manuscript, it was found with the body of St Cuthbert (*d.* 687), when his tomb was opened in 1105. At the spoliation of the monasteries in the 16th century the volume was annexed by Dr Lee, one of the Commissioners of Henry the Eighth. It afterwards came into the possession of the English Jesuits, with whom it remains at present. In 1806 it was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, London, when the suggestion was made that the binding was “of the time of Queen Elizabeth.” In 1862 it was included in an exhibition at South Kensington Museum, and the manuscript and binding were described as *cæval*—*i.e.*, seventh century. To this opinion Mr W. H. J. Weale inclined when cataloguing the rubbings of bindings in the National Art Library in 1898. He says the binding “stands quite by itself as the only known specimen of ornamental binding anterior to the twelfth century.” Count Plunkett, who has made a special study of bookbindings, places it as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Mr H. S. Crawford, B.E., has noticed a similarity between the ornament in the central compartment and a panel of what he calls “vine ornament” on the High Cross at Duleek.¹

SHIELD IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, DUBLIN

In 1908 an extremely interesting shield of bull's hide was dug out of a bog near Clonbrin, Co Longford, and was presented to the Royal Irish Academy by Colonel W. H. King-Harman, D.L., on

¹ The President of Stonyhurst College, Rev Wm. Bodkin, S.J., kindly supplied a photograph at the instance of Rev Professor Browne, National University of Ireland.

whose estate it was found. It is stated to have been embedded in the peat at a depth of 9 feet below the surface. Slightly oval in shape, it measures 20 inches by 19 inches approximately, and bears in relief concentric rings, and studs in groups of three, around a large umbo. A bronze shield from Loch Gur, Co. Limerick, also in the National Museum, the ornamentation on which likewise consists of concentric rings and studs, has been assigned to the Late Bronze Age, which in the British Isles ended about the fifth century B.C. And while it is difficult to imagine that the leather shield is at all as old as the bronze one, even making allowance for the antiseptic properties of the peat in which it was found embedded, yet it is of sufficiently great antiquity to cause us to marvel at its good state of preservation.

This shield has been fully described by one of our Vice-Presidents, Mr E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii.

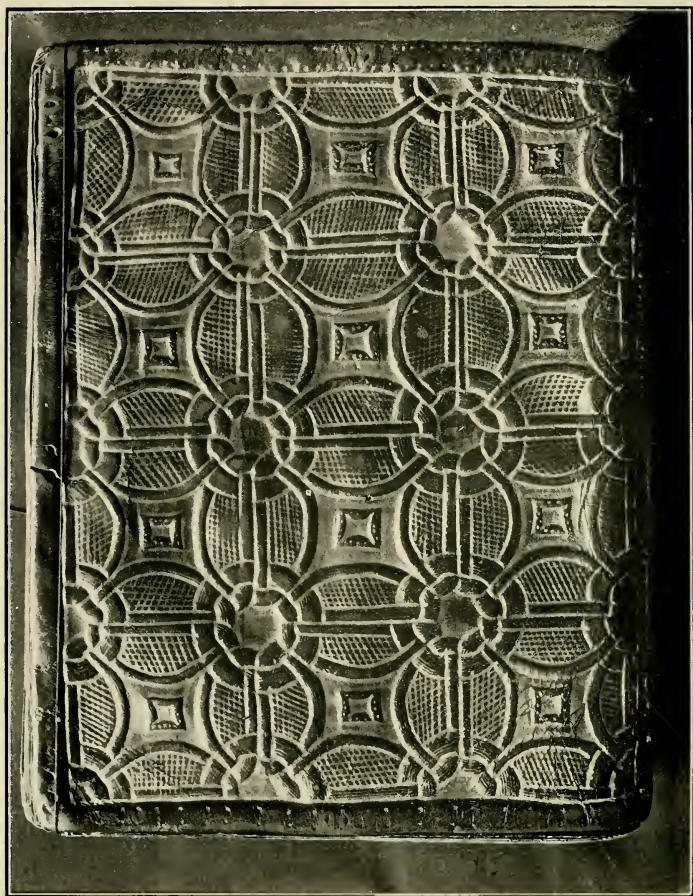
SHIELD IN THE COLLECTION OF MR D. M. BELL

(PLATE XXXII)

A very beautiful shield was lent to the Art and Industrial Division of the National Museum by Mr David M. Bell, of Belfast, in 1914. Mr Bell had obtained it from a member of the Hamilton-Rowan family, in whose possession it had been for many years. It is a circular shield, 19 inches in diameter, approximating to that of the shield which in Scotland is known as the targe. The material is deer-hide laid down on two plies of thin board, arranged so that the grain of one crosses that of the other at right angles—to prevent warping. It bears an elaborate scheme of impressed interlaced ornament, consisting of three broad concentric rings, each divided into four equal parts by two lines running entirely across the shield at right angles to each other, and thus dividing it into twelve separate compartments of interlacing. All the four panels into which each ring is divided contain the same interlaced design: but the design in each ring is different from that in the other two. The whole scheme is very beautiful, and it has been very skilfully worked out. Rows of brass nails, many of which are now missing, outlined the panels, thus making four complete circles of nails and four straight lines, running from the outer edge towards the centre. In addition there were two groups of three nails in each of the four panels of the innermost ring. There is no umbo, or boss, nor is there any trace of anything of the kind having ever been applied to the centre, which is quite flat and undecorated, save for the crossing of the impressed lines above mentioned.



BINDING IN THE FRANCISCAN LIBRARY, DUBLIN
(Obverse)



BINDING IN THE FRANCISCAN LIBRARY, DUBLIN
(Reverse)

SHOES IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, DUBLIN

There is a numerous collection of boots and shoes in the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum, but only three of the latter come within the scope of this paper.

One, from Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, figured at page 284 of Wilde's *Catalogue*, and at page 74 of the *R. I. A. Celtic Christian Guide* (1910), bears incised interlaced ornament on the instep and fret pattern at the heel. It was evidently made for a personage of good position. Mr Coffey places it "probably not later than the eleventh century."

Two others—not a pair, from Craigyarwarren Crannog, Co. Antrim, have incised spiral ornament, and are assigned to a period not "later than the ninth century." They are figured at page 73 of the *R. I. A. Celtic Christian Guide*.

CASE OF ST MALACHY'S CUP AT OBRIER

The following is taken from O'Laverty's *Down and Connor*, vol. v, pp. 130, 131 :—

"Father Patrick Fleming, the writer of the *Collectanea Sacra*, wrote to Father Hugh Ward, then engaged in collecting the notices of the Irish saints which were afterwards published by Father John Colgan, a letter which was published with a translation by Cardinal Moran in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for November, 1870.

"REV. FATHER,—I wrote you from Clairvaux. . . . We met another memorial of St Malachy in the monastery of Obrier, which is about ten leagues distant from Clairvaux, that is, the cup which he brought with him from Ireland, and from which we had the privilege of drinking. It is made of wood, and its cover or case is more precious than itself, being of leather wonderfully embossed and adorned with intertwinings according to the Irish style, of singular ornamentation generally used on the sheaths of oblong knives. . . .*

"Lyons, 8th May, 1623.'

"* The following is the original Latin description of the cup and its cover :—' Est autem ligneus, et coopericulum seu bursa eius ipso practiosior est, ex corio multis nodis et pressuris varie incisis more Hibernico in vaginis oblongorum cultrorum curiose decorandis servari solito.' "

Mr Charles McNeill, our Hon. Gen. Secretary, who gave me the above citation, notes that Fleming speaks as if that style of decoration were customary in his own day—"servari solito."

THE TANNING OF LEATHER

There is quite good evidence that the Irish in very early times were acquainted with the use of oak bark for converting hides into leather. Two citations will suffice. One is from a manuscript in Trinity College relating to the Brehon Laws. It is quoted in O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, page 448, and is translated: "Bark for tanning [*a pair of*] shoes, or a bridle, as told in the books: there is an inherent right to strip it from a neighbouring tree, so as it is not exceeded. If it is exceeded, however, if it be bark for tanning a cow-hide that is stripped, the penalty is two women's shoes worth half a screpall.¹ . . ." The other citation is from the "Life of St Colum Cille" in the *Book of Lismore* (Stokes, p. 176). It also describes a penalty, but of another kind—namely, the penalty of sacrilege. "Now there was a great oak tree under which Colomb-Cille dwelt while he was in that place (Cennanus, Kells), and it remained to these latter times, when it fell through the crash of a mighty wind. And a certain man took somewhat of its bark to tan his shoes withal. Now when he did on the shoes he was smitten with leprosy from his sole to his crown."

The material in the several objects described here has the appearance of leather; but it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty that this appearance of having been subjected to the process of tanning may not, at any rate in some instances, be attributed to the effects of time and use.

SACHELS

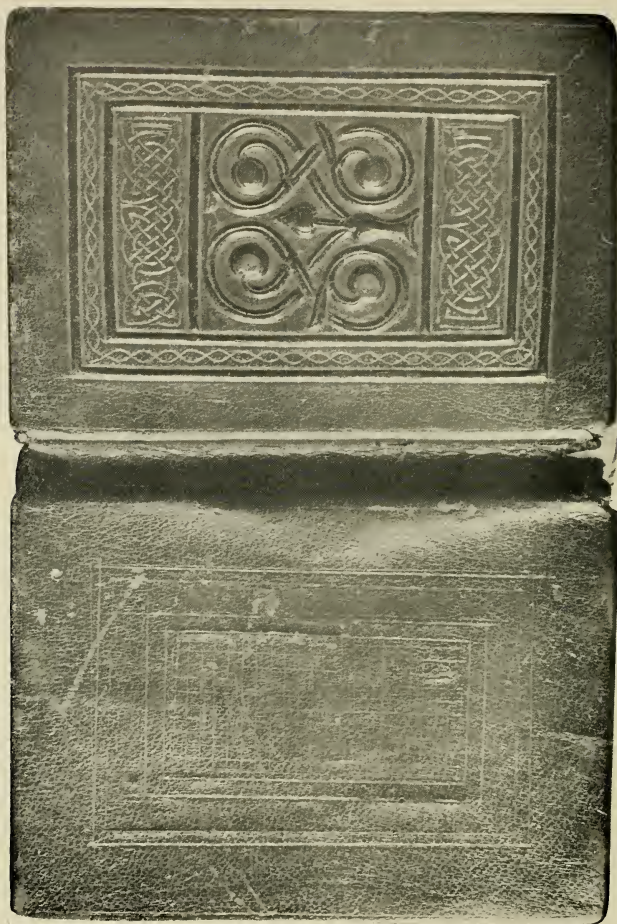
The references to book-satchels are, as might be expected, fairly numerous in the early writings describing the doings of the Irish missionaries. One of the most interesting of these is indicated in a description by Miss Stokes (*Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 158) of the sarcophagus containing the body of St Columbanus in Bobio. Giving details of the five compartments containing representations in bas-relief of incidents in the life of the Saint, she says:—

"The first represents the miracle of the Saint in the forest of Bobio, when he commanded the bear to submit to the yoke with the bullock. Here it should be noted that the book satchel is carried in the hand of St Columban, according to the custom of his countrymen. This may be a representation, made in 1484, of the very book-satchel which contained the Bobio MS. of the Gospels of St Mark

¹ Screpul, screaball (=scripulus) .i. secht pinginne oir, seven pennies of gold (Stokes, *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 399).



BINDING IN THE FRANCISCAN LIBRARY,
DUBLIN
(Hinge)



BINDING IN STONYHURST COLLEGE

and St Matthew, now numbered G. vii in the National Gallery of Turin, which is thus spoken of by Dr Wordsworth :—

“ ‘The chief interest attaching to our manuscript arises from the tradition which connects it with the life of St Columban, generally esteemed the earliest of those noble Celtic missionaries who evangelised Central Europe. The inscription still found in the volume declares that ‘ ‘According to tradition that was the same book which the blessed Abbot Columban was accustomed to carry about with him in his satchel.’ It was, therefore, if this be true, the companion of those travels which ended at Bobio in 613, about two years before his death.’ ”

The use of the strap attached to the satchel was twofold. The more obvious purpose related to the carrying of the book from place to place outside the monastery. But the strap served another purpose, which is revealed in a couple of passages in the *Calendar of Oengus* :—

“ In tan din ba marb Longarad issed innisit eolaig tiaga, lebar Erenn dothuitim inaidchesin : ”

Translated by Whitley Stokes—

“ Now when Longarad was dead, men of lore say this, that the book-satchels of Ireland fell down on that night.”

And—

“ No isiat natiaga irabutar liubair cechdanai isinaracul iraibe Colum Cille rothuitset and 7 machtnaigid Colum Cille 7 each bui isintigsin 7 sochtait uile fri tairmehrith na lebar : ”

Translated—

“ Or it is the satchels wherein were books of every science, in the cell where Columbcille was, that fell then, and Colombcille and everyone in that house marvel, and all are silent at the noisy shaking of the books.”

It is somewhat difficult to realise that the usage indicated in these passages, of suspending from hooks in the walls the satchels containing the service-books, still obtained in the nineteenth century amongst communities of religious men. The Hon Robert Curzon in his interesting book, *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*,¹ has described such an apartment as the one indicated above. When visiting the Monastery of Souriani, on the Natron Lakes, Abyssinia, he saw the monks carry suspended from a shoulder strap, “ a case

¹ London, 1849.

like a cartridge-box, of thick brown leather, containing a manuscript book." Their library contained "perhaps nearly fifty volumes." "The room was about 26 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 12 feet high; the roof was formed of the trunks of palm trees, across which reeds were laid, which supported the mass of earth and plaster, of which the terrace roof was composed; the interior of the walls was plastered white with lime; the windows, at a good height from the ground, were unglazed, but were defended with bars of iron-wood, or some other hard wood; the door opened into the garden, and its lock, which was of wood also, was of that peculiar construction which has been used in Egypt from time immemorial. A wooden shelf was carried, in the Egyptian style round the walls, at the height of the top of the door, and on this shelf stood sundry platters, bottles and dishes for the use of the community. Underneath the shelf various long wooden pegs projected from the wall; they were each about a foot and a half long, and on them hung the Abyssinian manuscripts, of which this curious library was entirely composed."

"The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way, sometimes in red leather and sometimes in wooden boards, which are occasionally elaborately carved in rude and coarse devices; they are then enclosed in a case, tied up with leather thongs; to this case is attached a strap for the convenience of carrying the volume over the shoulders, and by these straps the books were hung to the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more if the books were small: their usual size was that of a small very thick quarto. The appearance of the room . . . resembled less a library than a barrack or guard-room, where the soldiers had hung their knapsacks and cartridge-boxes against the wall."

In the *Book of Lismore* there are several references to book-satchels. The two following passages are taken, with the translations, from Whitley Stokes' *Lives of the Saints* :—

"Uair babes dosom crosa 7 polaire 7 tiagha leabur 7 aidhme eclusdai arcena [do denum]. Senais immorro ccc. cros 7 .ccc. tiprat 7 .c. polaire 7 .c. bachall 7 .c. tiagh."

"For it was his wont (*i.e.*, St Colomb-Cille's) to make crosses, and writing-tablets, and book-satchels, and other church-gear. Now he sained three hundred crosses, and three hundred wells, and a hundred tablets, and a hundred croziers, and a hundred satchels."

". . . co tue-side Colum mac Crimhthain cona theigh liubhar." "and (the guardian angel) brought Colum, son of Crimhthan, with his book-satchel" (to St Findian of Clonard on his death bed).

The use of the word "polaire" above alongside "tiagh" and "tiagha leabur" is noteworthy. Its later use as a synonym of



SHIELD IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. D. M. BELL

“tiagh liubair” is curious. The derivation seems to be from *pugillar*, a writing tablet.

IRISH AND SCOTTISH SHIELDS

Edmund Spenser, writing in 1597, describes the Irish as using “round leather targets.” He also saw in use amongst the northern Irish and the Irish Scots a long wicker shield that should cover their whole bodies. He did not see this large shield in the southern parts of Ireland.¹

There is in the collection of the O’Donovan of Lissard a circular shield of deer-skin on a wood base, about 19 inches in diameter, which is reputed to have belonged to the last Chieftain of the O’Donovan family, in the sixteenth century. It is studded with brass nails arranged in a sort of sexfoil design, and it has a bronze boss, or umbo, about an inch in height in the centre.²

Scottish shields, a good many of which have survived, and are preserved in public and private collections in Scotland, are of three kinds—namely, the buckler, about 12 inches in diameter, used in the Lowlands; the target, about 3 feet in diameter; and the targe, a sort of compromise between the other two, about 18 inches in diameter, used chiefly in the Highlands.

¹ *View of the State of Ireland*. Henry Morley, London, 1890, p. 100.

² *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* (1879–82, p. 443).

MISCELLANEA

A Long Earthwork at Kilwarden, Co. Meath.—In reply to my request for information on these embankments shown on the new maps, I am through the courtesy of Mr Patrick Bardun, of Nead's Bridge, able to give their origin. They were dug late in the eighteenth century by the Royal Canal engineers, but for some reason they determined to adopt a new line for their work past Killucan. Popular tradition has it that a farmer named Best refused to accommodate the Company, and, apparently, they had no compulsory powers. So we can eliminate it from the roll of early long earthworks.

The Ordnance Survey maps want very careful supervision in the matter of antiquities, and it cannot be hoped that the establishment of the expert department which was abolished early in the survey in times of prosperity may be revived after our present times of deep trouble and ruinous expenditure. Mr. Bardun names in his neighbourhood alone a "Ruin" on the map which is really a few large stones gathered for the foundation of a farmhouse over sixty years ago. On the other hand, Teampull 'a bhfeach, the traditional site of a church and monastery, is unmarked. Knockaville (enoc an bhile) still possesses a venerated tree connected with St Fechin. Another, supposed to be the Bile Dathi of the Dind Senchas, is at Clonfad in Farbil, about three miles away.—T. J. WESTROPP.

The Masonbrook Ring (*Journal* of 1914, p. 352).—The Masonbrook Ring has been examined as carefully as the trees and bushes allow. The boss is 33 feet in diameter, the flat band and the bank are each 9 feet wide, total diameter 69 feet. The bank is about 3 feet high, except on the west, where it is 5 feet high outside. The difference is probably due to the rapid falling away of the ground. There are traces of an outer bank 6 feet wide and 6 feet from this bank on the north and east and south, but not on the west.

The ring bank is flat on the top, probably on account of the stones, which are seven in number, and are about 25 feet apart, except on the west, where there is a gap of 45 feet, as if one stone were missing. They are about 4 to 5 feet in height, 2 to 3 feet wide, and from 6 to 12 inches thick; planted with the width across the bank.

In p. 356 it is noted that I had failed to find a record of a work of this type in such books on English earthworks as I had been able to search. In Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, on p. 49, is given a sketch of "The Nine Ladies" of Stanton Moor, which is a drawing

of this Masonbrook barrow as it would be if the vegetation and the little cairn of stones in the middle of the boss were removed and the stones were only seven instead of nine,

The diameter over all is given as 38 feet.

30th September, 1915.

H. T. KNOX.

Erratum.—In the note on Conna Castle (p. 172, *ante*), for “estuary” read “tributary.” The author of this note has contributed an account, amplified and corrected in one or two details, to the current issue of the *Journal* of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.

Prick-Spur found in the Mote of Mount Ash, Co. Louth.—In his paper on the “Mote of Street” (*Journal*, vol. xl), Mr G. H. Orpen described this antiquity, and wrote (p. 218) :—“I do not know where this interesting spur is.” Mr Orpen and Fellows and Members of the Society will be glad to learn that it is preserved in the National Museum, having been purchased by the Royal Irish Academy with a number of other objects from the Rev. George H. Reade. It is described in the Museum Register under the year 1883 as “Found in a mound near Dundalk called Little Ash.” It was identified by the writer when sorting over the Academy’s collection of spurs previously to arranging them for exhibition. The spur has been illustrated twice in the *Journal*—once by Mr Orpen in his paper mentioned above, and previously in colours, at the expense of Lord Carlingford (vol. xiii, plate facing p. 322).—E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, *Vice-President*).

Domhnall Spáinneach Caomhánach.—In a paper published in the *Journal* of June last some notice was made of Domhnall Spáinneach Caomhánach and his descendants; some further particulars regarding the latter may be of interest. Besides the children mentioned he appears to have had others.¹ The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, writing to the Privy Council, 11th December, 1600, says : “Donnell Spainagh lately upon his submission desired Her Majesty’s pardon, which we granted, and received for assurance of his loyalty, one of his sons, who is now in the castle, and another of his sons is to remain in the City of Dublin to be brought up at school there.” According to the late Mr P. Hore,² a daughter, Sauve or Sabina, was married to Fiach MacHugh, Chief of the Byrnes; and another³ must have been married to Captain Phelim Kavanagh, who is mentioned in the *State Papers* as the son-in-law of “Donell

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1600.*

² *Mr Hore’s Papers.*

³ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1647–1660.*

Spainagh," and to be serving in Spain in 1630. Margaret¹ was Robert Hay's second wife; she and her sister Elizabeth are mentioned in their father's will² as his two youngest daughters, and unmarried. Joan is not mentioned in the will, nor is Owney. The latter was twice married. Her first husband (Arthur Eustace)³ died in 1619, according to the funeral entry in Ulster's office; her second husband was Darby Cavanagh, of Inichora and Tincurry, Co. Wexford.⁴ They obtained a decree in Chancery, 26th June, 1629, against Oliver Eustace, of Ballynirry, Co. Carlow, for the payment of £30 dowry during Owney's life, charged on her first husband's property. Moreover, Domhnall appointed Darby Cavanagh overseer of his will. Elinor would seem to be an elder daughter. Her father provides for her in his will. Her reputed grave is still pointed out in Kilmysall graveyard near Newton Barry.

Sir Morgan Cavanagh,⁵ though he escaped the disastrous battle of Kilrush, in which his brother-in-law, Darby Cavanagh, was slain, was himself mortally wounded soon after at the battle of Ballibegs near Ross, 18th March, 1643, where the Confederates under Preston were routed by the Earl of Ormonde. There appears to be some doubt in the statement that Sir Morgan's son, "Daniel Oge," died unmarried. The More O'Farrall pedigree shows that Elinor, daughter of "Rory O'More," was married first to *Donell* or *Daniel McMurrough Kavanagh*, and secondly to Brian O'Kelly, of Cadanstown, Co. Kildare. Colonel Charles Cavanagh, brother of Domhnall Óg, with his regiment was at the siege of Cork after the capture of the city by Marlborough.⁶ He was put on board ship with other prisoners to be conveyed to England, but just before starting the man-of-war (the *Breda*) blew up in the harbour. Colonel Charles was among those who perished, but his youngest son, with Colonel John Barrett were saved. In the list of attainder of 1691 Colonel Cavanagh and his two sons, Ignatius and James, are styled of Carrickduff, Co. Carlow. The three sons of Ignatius were living at Nantes in 1768, in which year⁷ Hawkins, Ulster, allowed Nicholas Kavanagh of that town his great grandfather's arms. In May, 1774, a Mr Nicholas Cavanagh gave evidence before the House of Commons on the state of the Russian trade, mentioning the fact that he had lately come from St Petersburg, where he had resided for thirty-two

¹ Add MSS. 4820, Brit. Mus.

² Prerog. Will, Record Office, Dublin.

³ Add MSS. 4820, Brit. Mus.

⁴ Chan. Bill, Record Office, Dublin.

⁵ *Gilbert's History of the Confederacy, 1641-1652, and Depositions, Trinity College.*

⁶ *Lord Fingall's Papers*, Hist. MSS. Commission.

⁷ *Records, Ulster Office.*

years. It is probable that the latter is identical with Nicholas Cavanagh, of Nantes, as his mother, Catherine Browne, was of the same stock as the celebrated Russian General, Marshal Browne, living about this time.—W. O. CAVENAGH, *Member*.

Rostrevor, Co. Down: its Name.—Lewis¹ gives the following explanation of the origin of the present name of this place:—“Rostrevor or Rosetrevor. . . . This place was anciently called Castle Roe or Rory, from its original founder, Rory, one of the family of the Magennises, Lords of Iveagh, of whose baronial castle subsequently occupied by the Trevor family, there are still some remains near the town; it derived its present appellation from Rose, youngest daughter of Sir Marmaduke Whitechurch, after whose marriage with Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, the family seat, Iveagh Castle, was invariably called Rosetrevor.” If Lewis’ explanation of the name is correct in its main outlines, it is certainly inaccurate in detail. The name of the daughter of Marmaduke Whitechurch, who married in 1633, Marcus Trevor, 1st Viscount Dungannon, was *Frances*, not *Rose*. There was a *Rose* who married a Trevor; she was Rose, second daughter of Henry Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, 1595–1613, who married in 1612 as his second wife, Sir Edward Trevor, of Brynkinalt and Rostrevor, the father of Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.²

If the name Rostrevor is derived from the name of any individual it must be from her name. The earliest occurrence of the name *Rosetrevor* or *Rostrevor* which I have been able to discover is in an Inquisition taken at Downpatrick on the 4th of August, 1621,³ which finds that Brian óg Magennis, late of Towlaneere, Co. Down, by a deed, dated 1 July, 1619, assigned to Sir Edward Trevor, of *Rosetrevor*, in the said county, and William Smyth of Ballymagenchee in the said county, all his lands and tenements in County Down. I would suggest that the original Irish name of the place was, like 34 other townlands in Ireland, *Ros*, a wood, a name still very appropriate to the locality, and that when Sir Edward Trevor, who as a Welshman, was familiar with the word “*ros*,” which means in his native tongue “a moor” or “a marshy place,” obtained possession, he merely added his surname to the original name, thus forming “*Ros-Trevor*,” Trevor’s wood. The word *ros* in place-names has a strong tendency when used in composite names to be corrupted into *rose*, and then to be mistaken for the personal name:

¹ *Topographical Dictionary*, ii, 539.

² Ball-Wright, *The Ussher Families in Ireland*, p. 58.

³ *Inquis. Rot. Can. Hib.*, vol. ii, Co. Down, Jac. I, no. 11.

compare Rosedermot (*Ros Diarmada*, Diarmaid's wood), in the Barony of Kilconway, Co. Antrim, and Roselick, one mile south-east of Portstewart, in Co. Derry, which is a corruption of *Ros Reilge*, graveyard-point.¹ So, too, the name of New Ross in Co. Wexford, *Ros mhic Treoin*, the wood of the son of Treon, is locally supposed to be derived from a mythical Rose Macrone.² Another possible explanation of the name Rostrevor is that it is *Ros tsruthar* (pron. Rostruher), the wood of the stream, the *s* of *sruthair* being eclipsed by the (formerly) neuter noun *ros*.³ The transition from *Rostruher* to *Rostrevor* would have been simple and natural after the settlement of the *Trevor* family in the place. As will be seen from the accompanying Pedigree,⁴ the Trevors of Rostrevor are extinct in the male line, but are represented in the female line by the Marquis of Downshire and by Baron Trevor of Brynkinalt. They bore, party per bend sinister, erm. and ermines, a lion, rampant.—GUSTAVUS E. HAMILTON.

Diary of a Dublin Lady in the Reign of George II (*Journal*, vol. xxviii (1898), p. 141).—At the time of the publication of the above-named paper, the maiden name of Mrs. Katherine Bayly, the diarist, had not been discovered. The recent appearance of the volume of marriage entries of St Mary's Church, Dublin (*Parish Register Society of Dublin*, vol. xii, p. 7), now discloses the fact that as Katherine Morley she was married to John Bayly (Baily) on 14 October, 1721, in that church. Her account books begin on 16 October in that year, and in the paper, I hazarded the conjecture that as under the latter date, she notes a gift of 10 guineas from her husband, "to begin her private purse," it might have been the day of their marriage. The event, however, had taken

¹ Joyce, *I. N. P.*, i, 346. It is to be observed that Marcus Trevor was created Baron Trevor of Rosse, Co. Down.

² Joyce, *op. cit.*, i, 495. I have seen it stated that *Rossana*, the seat of the Tighe family near Ashford, Co. Wicklow, is really *Rose Anna*, being so called after the wife of one of the family. I do not think that this statement is correct. In an Inquisition, dated 28th October, 1619 (*Inquis. Rot. Can. Hib.*, vol. i, Co. Wicklow, Jac. I, no. 18), the name appears as *Rossanagh*, which clearly points to *Rosanach*, woody place, or to *Ros an atha*, wood of the ford, the ford being over the River Vartry at Ashford. The first member of the Tighe family to settle in Ireland was Richard Tighe, Sheriff of Dublin, 1649, Mayor of Dublin, 1651, 1652, 1655, M.P. for the City in Cromwell's Parliament, 1656; while the first of the family to live at Rosanna was his great grandson, William Tighe, M.P. for Clonmines, 1733, for Wicklow, 1761, died 1766. No member of the family married a lady named Rose Anna (Burke, *Landed Gentry of Ireland*).

³ Joyce, *op. cit.*, iii, 3, 547.

⁴ Compiled from Ball-Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 264; Burke's Peerage, *Downshire*, and *Trevor*; Lowry, *The Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 162. The account given in Burke's *Extinct Peerage* is both meagre and inaccurate.

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⁴ Compiled from Ball-Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 264; Burke's Peerage, *Downshire*, and *Trevor*; Lowry, *The Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 162. The account given in Burke's *Extinct Peerage* is both meagre and inaccurate.

PEDIGREE OF THE TREVORS OF ROSTREVOR, CO. DOWN

[To face page 314]

EDWARD TREVOR
of Brynkinalt, near Chirk, Co. Denbigh.

John Trevor,
of Brynkinalt (his eldest son).

(1) Anne Balle

Sir Edward Trevor,
of Brynkinalt and Rostrevor
Knt. P. C. (his eldest son), ab. 1649

(2) in 1612, Rose,
2nd dau of Henry Usher,
Archbishop of Armagh (1595-1613).
ab. 31 Oct., 1623

John Trevor,
(his eldest son,
and 5 June, 1650, at
Ballyclandon.

Margaret,
dau. of John Jefferys;
of Acton, Co. Denbigh

Margery,
born at Novem.
13 Aug., 1613,
died young

Sarah = **Edwards,**
born at Rostrevor,
13 Aug., 1616

(1) 28 Sept., 1637, **FRASER,**
dau. and co-heir of Merenduke
Whitchurch, of Loughbrickland,
Co. Down.

Marcus Trevor,
born at Rostrevor, 15 April, 1618. Governor
of Ulster, 11 May, 1665; Marshal of
Ireland, 6 Nov., 1667. Created 21
April, 1662, Baron *Trevor* of
Roar, Co. Down; 28 Aug.,
1662, Viscount *Dunghannon*,
ab. 16 March, 1669

(2) Anne,
dau. of ...
Lewis of
Anglesey

Margaret,
born at Brynkinalt
Nov., 1621;
died 23 March, 1679.

Sir Hans Hamilton,
Baron
of Hamilton's
Bowen

Edward Trevor,
born at Brynkinalt
8 May, 1623.
siam at Balmethory.

Elizabeth,
dau. of Henry,
Lord Folliott.

Edward Trevor,
of Brynkinalt, &c.

Sir John Trevor,
of Brynkinalt;
speaker of the Eng. House of Commons,
Master of the Rolls, P.C.,
ab. 20 May, 1717

Jane,
dau. of Sir
Roger Motyn,
Baron
of Motyn

8 daughters

Marcus Trevor,
&c. &c.
5 June, 1669

Arthur Trevor,
&c. &c.

Edward Trevor,
&c. &c.

Maria

William Hill,
of Hillsborough

Rose

**Nicholas
Fennell,**
Baron of
Loughmore

Frances

**Nicholas
Senkley,**
of
Co. Longford

Lewis Trevor,
2nd Viscount *Dunghannon*,
&c. &c.

John Trevor,
siam by his brother,
Marcus, 1691;
&c. &c.

Marcus Trevor,
3rd Viscount *Dunghannon*,
&c. &c.

Abigaila Susanna,
dau. and co-heir of
Hugh Hamilton,
1st Baron Glenawley.

Katherine,
died young

Edgar,
&c. &c.

Richard,
&c. &c.

Edward Trevor,
of Brynkinalt, &c. &c.

Arthur,
Caher of the Bulls Chapel;
&c. &c.

John,
Master of the
Exchequer, O.B. in
Chancery; &c. &c.

Tudor Trevor,
captain of a ship,
&c. &c.

(1) Rt Hon Michael Hall

Anne Trevor,
ab. 5 Jan., 1747

(2) Alan,
1st Viscount *Malleson*,
Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
by whom she had no issue

Trevor Hill,
1st Viscount *Hillsborough*

Arthur Hill-Trevor,
of Brynkinalt, created 27 April, 1766,
Viscount *Dunghannon* of *Dunghannon*
and Baron *Hill* of *Glenties*

12 Jan., 1737, Anne,
dau. and heiress of Edward Francis Stafford,
of Mount Stafford,
Co. Antrim

Willis Hill,
2nd Viscount, created Marquis of
Downshire, 20 Aug., 1789
From him is descended the present
Marquis and the present Baron
Trevor of *Brynkinalt*

Arthur Hill-Trevor,
died 10 Jan., 1770

27 Feb., 1762, Letitia, Niece,
eldest dau. of Henry,
1st Viscount *Mountstuart*

Anne,
born 23 June, 1742.
ab. 16 Dec., 1811

Gerard,
1st Earl of *Monington*

Frederica,
born 17 March, 1743

Charles Russell Leslie,
of *Glasgow*

Arthur Hill-Trevor,
2nd Viscount *Dunghannon*,
born 2 Oct., 1761,
died 14 Dec., 1837

30 July, 1795, Charlotte,
dau. of Charles,
1st Lord *Southampton*

Arthur,
Duke of *Wellington*

Arthur Hill-Trevor,
3rd and last Viscount *Dunghannon*,
born 9 Nov., 1798,
&c. &c. 11 Aug., 1862

In Sept., 1821, Sophia,
16th dau. of Col George Marston
D'Amy-Irwin, of Castle Irwin,
Co. Fermanagh.

Charles Henry Hill-Trevor,
born 21 Sept., 1809
died unmarried 18 Sept., 1853.



place two days previously. Mrs. Bayly died on 20 May, 1775, and in her will, proved 31 May in that year, she mentions a nephew, William Ousley, who was son of her sister Elizabeth Morley, married to William Ousley, Dunmore Castle, Co. Galway. Mention is also made as to the portraits of her father and mother (Morley), and any information as to their identity will be welcomed.—
H. F. BERRY.

Ancient Iron Bell found at Knock-a-temple, Co. Wicklow.—

About twenty-five years ago this bell was unearthed by the late John G. Keogh at the ruins of the old church of Knock-a-temple, in the Parish of Calary, in the Barony of Newcastle, in the County Wicklow. The site is close to the present Vartry reservoir near Roundwood, in the direction of Mount Kennedy, and about seven miles from Glendaloch.

The Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Wicklow, contain the following reference to Knock-a-temple:—"In the townland of Knock-a-temple are the ruins (or site) of a church 50 feet long by 18 feet broad; the foundation only remains. A very old decayed thorn grows in the fence at its south-east angle, and there is a holy water font cut into a rock about 50 yards north-east of the north-west angle. The place is discontinued as a burying ground, but there are several old graves on the south-west side, overgrown with blackthorn trees of a considerable size. Jemmy Byrne says this is one of the churches built by the three sisters, Keene, Kine, and Kellagh."

The bell was sold by Joseph Keane, auctioneer, in March, 1915, at the sale of the effects of Mr H. C. C. Hall, of Knockraheen, deceased, a local resident, and a relative of the finder of the bell. It was purchased with other articles by a Dublin dealer for a few shillings (although freely advertised), and in November following was acquired by the Rev. J. MacArdle of the Pro-Cathedral on the advice of the writer. There were other articles found at the same time at Knock-a-temple: a glass "chalice," said to have been found on the breast of a skeleton; oyster shells painted with mineral paint, and a carved head; these were also auctioned at the same time. The last-named is now in Chicago. It is a miracle the bell is not there too.

The bell stands 12 inches high, it is of the usual tapering oblong shape, 6 inches and 8 inches wide respectively at the mouth. The clapper and handle are missing, and one side has fallen away in part through corrosion. The material is iron, and the welding and riveting at the sides can still be traced. There are also traces of bronze plating.—F. J. BIGGER M.R.I.A.

A Note on Two Objects on the North Slope of Mushera Beg, Co. Cork (Plate XXXIII).—(1) On the north slope of this hill (O.S. 6", No. 48, close to B.M. 1030.4) the O.S. marks "Gallaun" and "Stone Circle." These objects form a group of considerable interest, and the outstanding gallaun is a very prominent feature on the ridge of the hill as one comes down after traversing the gap between the two Musheras, which is reached by leaving the Cork-Macroom road at Clashgarraff Bridge.

The collection of stones consists of:—(a) An erect, but not perpendicular, gallaun which inclines towards the west. This is 12 feet 7 inches in height, 7 feet 6 inches in girth, and roughly quadrangular, with a rather sharply-pointed apex. (b) 11 feet 8 inches distant from this is a prostrate gallaun, to a great extent buried in heather. It is tabular, 14 feet in length and 3 feet in breadth. (c) The circle, which is one of the smallest and most compact ever visited by me in this or the adjacent island. It consists of five erect stones. The eastern face of the nearest of these (No. 1, see plan annexed) to the prostrate gallaun is 11 feet 7 inches from that stone. The distance from the inner face of No. 1 to the central point between the two stones most distant from it (Nos. 3 and 4 in the plan) is 11 feet 5 inches. There is thus a curious similarity in the distances between the members of the group of stones taken as a whole. The bearing (taken with a prismatic compass on 26 Sept. 1915) from the centre of the opening between stones Nos. 3 and 4 over the top of stone No. 1 and through the standing gallaun was 230°.

The measurements of the stones are as follows:—¹

		Height	Width (of inner face)	Thickness
No. 1.	...	3' 9"	3' 0"	0' 9"
„ 2.	...	3' 9"	2' 0"	1' 0"
„ 3.	...	4' 8"	2' 0"	1' 2"
„ 4.	...	4' 4"	2' 3"	1' 2"
„ 5.	...	4' 7"	1' 7"	1' 3"

No. 1 is a round-topped stone, thin and flat, and very like a rough tombstone; the others are either irregularly triangular or quadrilateral.

(2) On the same sheet of the O.S., and a little to the north-west of the monument just described there is marked a "Stone Circle." I visited this object some time ago with Mr. Michael Murphy, solicitor, of Cork, to whom I am indebted for the photo

¹ The plan is only approximately to scale, as the monument was not surveyed with a theodolite.

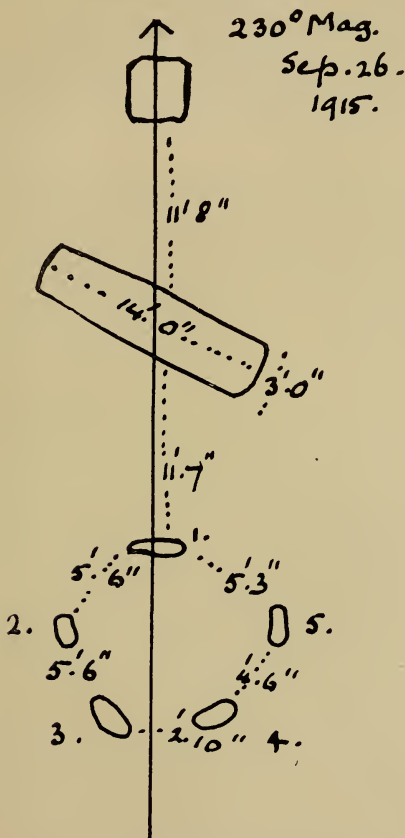


MUSHERA BEG STONE CIRCLE



STONE HOUSE

and the information as to the name of the townland. We had some difficulty in identifying the object, for, as will be seen from the photo, it is not a stone circle in the scientific use of the term, but a circle of stones forming the remains of a collapsed clochán.



PLAN OF STONE CIRCLE ON MUSERA BEG.

This is situated on a little well-sheltered knoll by the side of a small stream—an ideal spot for such a place. Mr Murphy informs me that the townland is called Cloch-booley-beg—*i.e.*, cloch-buata beg, or the small stone dairy-shed. This is it.—BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

NOTICE OF BOOK

* *An Account of the Honourable Society of King's Inns, Dublin, from its Foundation until the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, with Notices of the Four Courts.* By GUSTAVUS EVERARD HAMILTON, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Dublin: W. G. Neale. 1915. Price 1s. net.

IN his preface, Mr. Hamilton states that prior to 1607, his work is the result of independent research, but that subsequent to that period, his material is largely derived from a *History of the King's Inns*, compiled by Bartholomew Duhigg, Treasurer of the Society, which appeared in 1806—"a model of everything which a history should not be." With this sweeping criticism, the writer disposes of Duhigg, whose work is perhaps sufficiently characterised in the phrase. Mr. Hamilton has sifted the actual facts contained in Duhigg's volume from a mass of verbosity and discursiveness, and with the help of his own investigations, has produced a useful and readable little book.

The various locations of the Inns of Court are traced from Collett's Inn, where the old Exchequer was situated (1300) to Preston's Inns (1384), to the Black Friars (site of the present Four Courts), 1541, down to the foundation, in 1793, of the building at the top of Henrietta Street, which has since been the home of the Society. The original chapel of the Inns was in a small street called Mass Lane, now Chancery Place, which King William III, with the consent of the Society, presented to one of the Huguenot congregations of Dublin.

The nucleus of the splendid Library of the Inns is stated by Mr. Hamilton to have been the collection of books made by Mr. Justice Robinson, which on his death in 1787 was purchased by the Society. There is an interesting page of prices of various articles taken from old account books, from which it appears that on Grand Day in 1630 players were paid £2.

In 1657 the placing of the Commonwealth Arms in the Hall cost £6. In 1678 the Society is found paying for the nursing of an infant found on the premises, who had been baptized Betty Cloisters.

Mr. Hamilton supplies a list, with notes, of the chaplains, which includes the illustrious names of James Ussher and George Berkeley; they had free chambers and commons, but received no salary. A list of the Treasurers, Under Treasurers, Pensioners and Stewards of the Inns, supplemented by notes which convey much information, renders Mr. Hamilton's work interesting and instructive. To the members of the legal profession in this country such a handbook should prove useful.

PROCEEDINGS

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held at 6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, the 28TH of SEPTEMBER, 1915, at 8.15 p.m.

FRANCIS ELRINGTON BALL, LITT.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

Past President :—John Ribton Garstin, D.L.

Vice-Presidents :—E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Fellows :—J. Poë Alton, S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., Professor R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A., Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*, Samuel G. Murray, G. W. Place, Andrew Robinson, M.V.O., Andrew Roycroft, John F. Weldrick, Henry Bantry White, I.S.O., *Hon. Treas.*

Members :—Miss Anna Barton, O'Meara Conyngham, Freeman W. Deane, Vincent de Gernon, J. R. B. Jennings, Miss A. M. Joly, Edmund Walsh Kelly, Rev. Canon R. A. Kernan, Mrs. Annie Long, Mrs. W. D. Ludlow, A. V. Montgomery, J. Nichols, Rev. T. W. O'Ryan, Miss A. Peter, R. G. Pilkington, Miss U. T. E. Powell, Rev. A. D. Purefoy, M.A., Rev. R. B. Rankin, Rev. Francis J. Wall, Miss E. G. Warren, Richard Blair White.

Associate Members :—Mrs. J. Poë Alton, W. G. Gogan, James J. Healy, A. R. Montgomery, M. S. Walsh, L.R.C.P.I.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Associate Members were elected :—

AS FELLOWS

Goodbody, Gerald Ernest, Woodsdown, Limerick : proposed by William A. Fogerty, M.D., *Fellow*.

Waldron, The Right Hon. Laurence A., M.R.I.A., 10 Anglesea Street, Dublin (*Member*, 1890) : proposed by Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Conlan, John P., 129 Blarney Street, Cork : proposed by Charles McNeill, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Diskon, W. H., Cong. Co. Mayo : proposed by John Cooke, *Vice-President*.

Flynn, John W., 28 South Frederick Street, Dublin : proposed by Kevin E. O'Duffy, *Fellow*.

Gerrard, Edward, 7 Merrion Row, Dublin : proposed by John Cooke, *Vice-President*.

Kennedy, R. K. L., 52 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin : proposed by Rev. Canon R. A. Kernan, B.D., *Member*.

The Meeting was informed that the Society's investment in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Consols had been transferred to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. New War Loan, as authorised by the General Meeting in Londonderry on 6 July, 1915.

Views were exhibited from the lantern slides recently made for the Society from negatives taken by the late Sir Robert Stawell Ball, F.R.S., sometime Astronomer-Royal of Ireland.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 14 December, 1915.

A MEETING of the 67th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on TUESDAY, 14TH DECEMBER, 1915, at 8.15 p.m.

MR. M. J. McENERY, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Vacancies were declared for a President, five Vice-Presidents, an Hon. General Secretary, an Hon. Treasurer, and six Members of Council.

The following papers were read and referred to the Council for publication:—

1. (a) The Church of St. Tassach at Raholp in Lecale: Its History and Conservation.
- (b) The Church of St. Nicholas of Ardtale in Lecale: Its Stained Glass and Preservation.
- (c) The Ancient Iron Bell found at Knockatemple near Glendaloch, Co. Wicklow.

By FRANCIS J. BIGGER, *Fellow*.

These papers were illustrated by drawings, photographs and lantern slides.

2. A Note on two Objects on the north slope of Musherah Beg, Co. Cork. By SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, *Fellow*.
3. The State Music in Ireland from 1661 to 1861. By W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, *Member*.

The following objects were exhibited:—

Ancient Beads, Key, &c., from Raholp.

Stained Glass from Ardtale.

Iron Bell from Knockatemple.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 25th January, 1916.

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